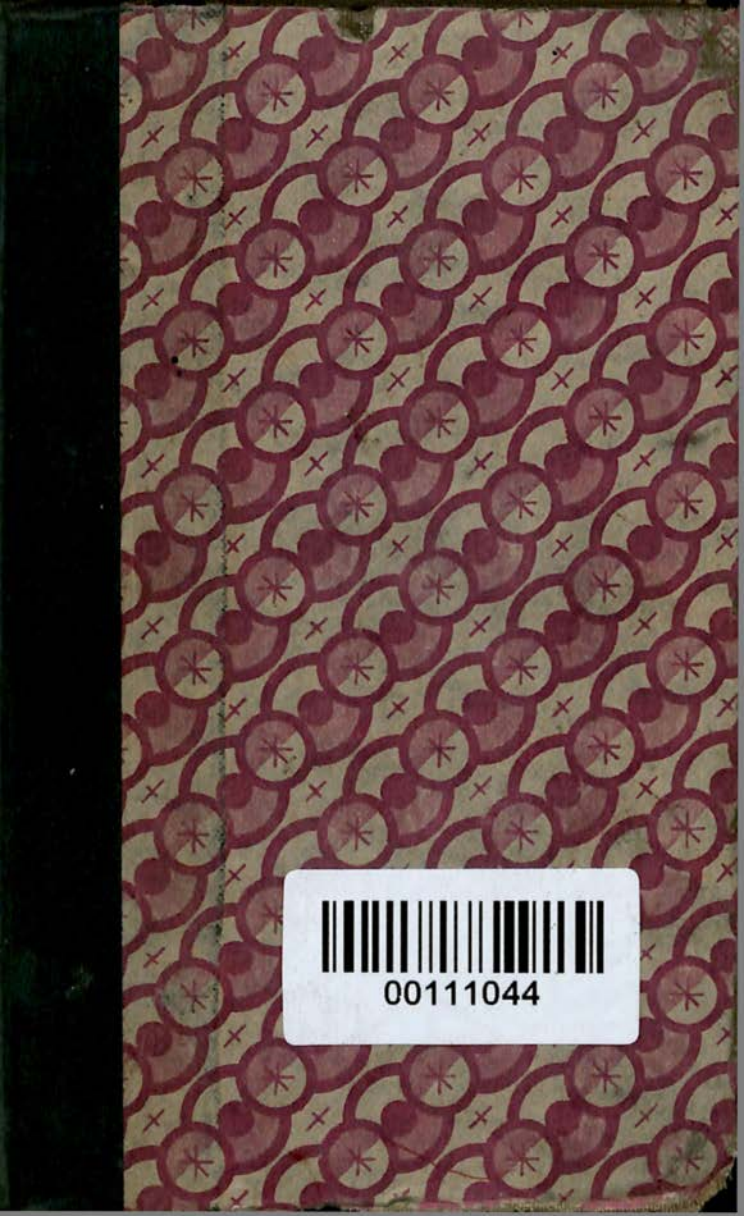
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ESSAYS

ON THE

RE-UNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

SERMONS

ON THE

RE-UNION OF CHRISTENDOM,

SECOND SERIES.

BY

MEMBERS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC, ORIENTAL AND ANGLICAN COMMUNIONS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM,

BY J. T. HAYES, LYALL PLACE, EATON SQUARE.

ESSAYS

ON THE

RE-UNION OF CHRISTENDOM,

BY

MEMBERS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC, ORIENTAL AND ANGLICAN COMMUNIONS.

EDITED BY

THE REV. FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, D.C.L.,

EDITOR OF THE FIRST AND SECOND SERIES OF "SERMONS ON THE RE-UNION OF CHRISTENDOM."

111044

WITH A PREFACE

BY

THE REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.,

CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

LONDON: J. T. HAYES, LYALL PLACE, EATON SQUARE.

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IMPERATORIÆ, REGIÆ ET APOSTOLICÆ MAJESTATI SUÆ,

FRANCISCO JOSEPHO PRIMO,

IMPERATORI AUSTRIÆ;

NECNON

SANCTISSIMÆ MAJESTATI SUÆ,

ALEXANDRO NICOLAEWITCH SECUNDO,

IMPERATORI OMNIUM RUSSIARUM AUTOCRATORI;

NECNON

REGIÆ ALTITUDINI SUÆ

ALBERTO EDVARDO

PRINCIPI WALLIÆ, ETC.

QUI INTER LAICOS

ROMANO-CATHOLICÆ, ORIENTALIS, ET ANGLICANÆ COMMUNIONIS,

SUMMA SINGULI POLLENT AUCTORITATE,

IN SPEM UNIONIS FUTURÆ GREGIS CHRISTI,

HEU! TAM DIU IN SEIPSO PARTITI,

ET IN EXPECTATIONEM UNIVERSALIS FIDEI CATHOLICÆ

PER TOTUM ORBEM DIFFUSIONIS,

QUAM CONCEDAT DOMINUS DEUS OMNIPOTENS!

AMEN.

Cardinal Wiseman on Corporate Re-union.

"That the return of this country (through its Established Church) to the Catholic Unity would put an end to religious dissent and interior feud, I feel no doubt. By two ways the population of the country would be worked upon for its moral improvement—the rural districts through parochial influence, the denser populations of towns or manufacturing districts through monastic institutions. Experience has now shown that the country population are ready to receive without murmuring—indeed, with pleasure—the Catholic views propounded from Oxford, and, indeed, even more when taught through regular parochial instruction. . . . . In one point I trust that none (however he may have differed from me so far) will refuse to join me in daily and fervent supplication to the God of Peace, that He will deign to direct our hearts and conduct towards the accomplishment of this noble end."—*Catholic Unity, pp.* 40—42. London: 1841.

The Metropolitan of Chios on Re-union.

"Since, then, the Anglican Church accepts in some measure the same fundamental principles, in the investigation of dogmatic truth and the interpretation of Holy Scripture, as our Orthodox Eastern Church, (and therefore acknowledges with it the divine authority of the Seven most venerable Œcumenical Councils, which by their example sanction submission to sacred and living tradition, and together with it, logical and intelligent inquiry and investigation) on this account, its agreement in doctrines and other Apostolical traditions with our Eastern Church—which combines these fundamental principles harmoniously and in unity without confusion—does not appear to me very difficult. But when your Church, based on these two principles, shall agree with us, according to logical necessity and consequence, on the more important points, in which at present it manifestly differs from us; then the solution of the questions of secondary importance—such, viz., as effect customs, ecclesiastical orders, and the like, after the precedents of ancient ecclesiastical dispensations, will be most easy. But in saying this, I must by no means be understood to anticipate the judgment of the most venerable Mother of Orthodoxy in Constantinople, which is also rightly styled, 'The Great Church of Christ,' to which I am canonically subject; much less the judgment and decision of a future General Council, which alone will be (so far as it shall be supported by the seven Œcumenical Councils) the divinely-authorised Voice of the Catholic Church and the administrator of Unity, and will alone be able to declare infallibly and unerringly concerning dispensations and the manner of smoothing the differences which separate the Anglican Church from ours."

Count Joseph de Maistre on the Church of England and Re-union.

"If ever Christians re-unite, as all true and sound considerations make it their primary interest to do, it would reasonably appear that the movement must take its rise in the Church of England. . . . She is most precious, and may be considered as one of those chemical *intermèdes*, which are capable of producing an Union between elements apparently dissociable in themselves."

The Archbishop of Dublin on the Evils of Dis-union.

"The unhappy divisions of Christendom are so deeply to be deplored, both as directly contrary to the intention of Christ, and as infinitely weakening the Church's witness before the world, that the guilt upon our parts would be very great, if pride, passion, prejudice, the unwillingness to give way in things indifferent, were allowed to defeat any hopeful proposal for the healing or even for the abating of these. The ἄσπονδοι, or irreconcilable, are ranked by St. Paul among the worst and wickedest of all."

The R. C. Archbishop of Westminster on Re-union.

"We believe Union to be a very precious gift, and only less precious than Truth. There is nothing we would not do or suffer, by the grace of God, to effect or to promote the Re-union of all."

The Bishop of London on Re-union with the Eastern Churches.

"As to schemes of Re-union with the Oriental Churches, I am sure I wish they could come to anything. It would be satisfactory indeed to see the Churches of the early centuries, the venerable Patriarchates, the nurseries of great Fathers, returning to the vigour and earnestness of their youth, and prizing that Gospel which it is the great privilege of some of them to possess written in the beautiful clearness of their own ancient tongue. When we think what blessings the West has received from the East, both of secular and religious civilization, no educated European but will desire to repay part of the debt, and concur in any such schemes by which the Christian East may be benefited."

The Bishop of Oxford on Re-union in the West.

"To restore the true Unity of Christendom, that for which our Master prayed, that for which every heart He has touched with His own love must most intensely long, who would not gladly die? Every such attempt, then, whether it be to remove the barriers between ourselves and our separated brethren in this land, or to heal the breaches between the East and the West, with their several subdivisions, must, I think, attract to itself our deepest interest, and call forth from us more earnest prayers for the gift of One mind in the common faith. God forbid that I should chill one such prayer, or damp one such aspiration: yet I must remind you that all practical attempts at Re-union must be made with a full recognition of the wide difference between combination and Unity. Combination may be of the earth, earthy; it may be the veiling of essential differences under well-prepared ambiguities of action or of profession: Unity must, in our holy religion, be Unity in Christ; and Christ is Truth. There can be no Unity in Him based on disregard of error. With these principles full in view, I yearn for the Re-union with us of our brethren of the Roman separation. What might not be our strength against evil if this sore wound were healed? I see no formal differences of the Faith which need hopelessly part us. I believe that Time has, to a great degree, worn away the causes of our existing division. Let not the memory of past disagreements keep us for one day needlessly asunder."

INTRODUCTION.

ANGLICANS, wherever found, who are endeavouring to promote the Re-union of the three great bodies of Christians, which claim for themselves the inheritance of the Priesthood and the name of Catholic, may well be satisfied with what has been already effected. In the English Caroline Revival,—the first important re-action against Reformation excesses,—men were generally instructed to contemplate merely the healing of their own national insular divisions—forgetting, in too many instances, the loss of intercommunion with foreign Catholics, which that Reformation had sealed. Now, however, it is otherwise. Our vision is extended and extending. We are brought into social and religious communication with many from whom we are visibly separated, and wonder both why any division should exist, and why the presence of a common foe, Infidelity, does not at once force us to join our ranks, and stand shoulder to shoulder

and knee to knee, as common soldiers of our Captain and King: Thanks be to GOD, however, longing aspirations for peace and intercommunion *are* increasing and deepening on all hands. Such can neither be ignored nor "put down," because they are from the ALMIGHTY. Steadily, likewise, season by season, they spread and gain strength; so that many who for years have been individually and independently working out some theory explanatory of present difficulties in the relation of one part of the Christian Family with another, find it in the sound and rational principle of Corporate Re-union; at the same time discovering on many sides sympathisers and fellow-workers who have made a similar discovery and are labouring for the same end. They have asked themselves, no doubt, what is the purpose of the great religious restoration known as the Catholic Revival, which has materially influenced every diocese throughout England? Is it merely for the special benefit of a single nation, or does it seem providentially intended to be one instrument by which the schisms and separations of past times are to be healed for the benefit of other peoples as well; and by which, in GOD'S time, the whole Christian Family may become once more, as of old, visibly One?

An affirmative response to the latter should

come from those who have resolved to adopt and extend the Re-union theory, and to aim at making it a practical fact and beneficial reality.

That such may be in the forefront of sincere and honest Anglicans is evident from the tone and temper of a very remarkable "ADDRESS OF ENGLISH CHURCHMEN TO FOREIGNERS VISITING ENGLAND," which was issued in London, A.D. 1862—the year of the International Exhibition—by certain sound and sober members of our communion, and which sets forth in plain and temperate language the general doctrine, policy, and position of the National Church of England, as well as the true feeling which animates all Re-unionists :—

"CHRISTIAN BRETHREN,—

"1. In offering you a hearty welcome to our country, and wishing you much gratification from your visit, we venture to avail ourselves of the opportunity which your stay amongst us affords of addressing to you a few words on a subject very important to us all.

"2. Amongst the various objects of interest which will claim your attention, many of you, we have no doubt, will direct your thoughts to our religious institutions, and inquire what is the character and actual condition of the Church of England.

"3. It is a subject of deep anxiety to us as Communicants of the Church of England that foreigners, who are likely during the present season to visit our country, should be correctly informed as to the true character of the English Church,—the more so because we fear it is a subject with regard to which much misapprehension prevails amongst them. Members of the Eastern and Western Communions view the English Church as one of the sects which have separated themselves from the Church Catholic. Protestants, on the other hand, impute to the English Church much of what they conceive to be opposed to Evangelical

truth. We, therefore, respectfully ask you, during your visit to England, to make yourselves acquainted with the true Doctrine and Discipline of the English Church. And we have a good hope that, if you inform yourselves rightly on the subject, and carry back to your own countries a right impression of the true character of the Church of England, a way may be opened by God's Providence for the reconciliation of differences, and for the Re-union of Christendom, which has been unhappily too long and sadly divided.

"4. We would beg to advert very briefly to the history of the English Church, and especially to the events which took place at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Amidst much political violence and confusion, and much ungodly contention, still the grand feature of the movement of that period was not, as has been sometimes represented, a schism or separation from Catholic unity; but simply a return to the doctrine and usage of the Apostolic ages on the part of the Catholic Bishops themselves of that period, in Synods lawfully constituted. And not only was the Doctrine of Catholic times preserved, but also the continuity of the Apostolic Succession (by which the Authority and Jurisdiction of our Bishops and Clergy is derived from Christ and His Apostles), was carefully maintained.

"5. It is impossible within the limits of this Address to give even an outline of those events by which a breach was unhappily formed in the Western Church. We feel confident, however, that a candid consideration of the circumstances of that age will convince our friendly visitors that no schism on the part of the Church of England was either intended or made, but that the English Church remained, as she ever has been, a living branch of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Communion.

"6. In further proof of our assertion, we would request those amongst you who desire full information on this important subject, to inspect carefully the English Book of Common Prayer, comprising, as it does, the authorized Formularies which are in daily use amongst us; and we are sure that you will find nothing in them which is not in accordance with the Doctrine and Discipline of the Apostolic Church. We may safely appeal to those who are learned in the history of the post-Apostolic ages for the fact that the Liturgy and Offices are in harmony with the ancient Formularies of the East and West, which from the earliest times have been used in the different Patriarchates. And if you compare the Offices themselves with those of the

present Eastern and Western Communions, you will discern an essential resemblance in all important points. The English Prayer Book is in truth little more than a translation of portions of the Offices which were in use before the unhappy division in the Western Church, and contains nothing which need prevent you from joining with us in our Public Worship.

"7. In particular, we would specially call attention to the following points, in which you will perceive that the English formularies are essentially in harmony with those of the whole Catholic Church.

"8. First—The Church of England holds unreservedly 'one Baptism for the Remission of Sins,' and teaches the doctrine of Regeneration in and by Holy Baptism. In her Catechism she declares that every child, 'in his Baptism,' 'was made a member of CHRIST, a child of GOD,' and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.' In answer to the question, 'What is the outward visible sign or form of Baptism?' the child is taught to say, 'Water, wherein the person is baptized in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST.' And, as regards 'the inward and spiritual grace,' the child is instructed that it is 'a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness; for being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby (*i. e.*, by Baptism) made the children of grace.' The Office for Holy Baptism is constructed entirely on this principle; and as soon as a child or adult is baptized it is declared that he is 'regenerate, and grafted into the Body of CHRIST'S Church,' and the congregation present are called on 'to thank GOD for these benefits;' and it is further expressly stated in the Rubric at the end of the Office that 'It is certain, by GOD'S Word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.'

"9. Secondly—The Church of England requires that all those who have been baptized 'should be brought to the Bishop, to be confirmed by him, so soon as they can say the Creed, the LORD'S Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue.' She believes that by the Laying on of the Hands of the Bishop in Confirmation the gift of the HOLY GHOST is conferred. Before the imposition of hands, the Bishop prays that 'Almighty GOD, who has vouchsafed to regenerate His servants by water and the HOLY GHOST,' will 'Strengthen them by His Holy Spirit, and daily increase in them the manifold gifts of grace.' Then 'Laying his Hand on each one severally,' 'after the example of the

holy Apostles,' he says, 'Defend, O LORD, this Thy servant with Thy heavenly grace, that he may continue Thine for ever, and daily increase in Thy Holy Spirit more and more, until he come unto Thine everlasting kingdom.'—*(Order of Confirmation).*

"10. Thirdly—The Church of England, in common with all other portions of the Church Catholic, holds the Real Objective Presence of our LORD'S 'Body and Blood under the form of bread and wine,' and the Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. It is taught plainly in her Catechism that 'the Body and Blood of CHRIST are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the LORD'S Supper.' It is declared in the Communion Service that 'GOD hath given His SON JESUS CHRIST not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that Holy Sacrament.' And we pray to GOD that 'we may so eat the Flesh of His dear Son JESUS CHRIST, and drink His Blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood.' And in consecrating the elements, and offering the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the Priest uses substantially the same form which has been employed in the Catholic Church of all ages since the Apostolic times, and which is now retained both in the Eastern and Western Communions; adopting the Words and Actions used by our Blessed LORD Himself at the institution of the Blessed Sacrament of His Body and Blood. Doing in remembrance of CHRIST what He Himself commanded, and what the Catholic Churches of all ages has observed, she offers with the whole Church the true Eucharistic Sacrifice, and celebrates a true Communion,—acknowledging that 'although we be unworthy through our manifold sins to offer unto Thee any Sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept This our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD.'

"11. Fourthly—The Church of England holds the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession. 'It is evident,' saith the Preface to the Ordinal, 'unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of ministers in CHRIST'S Church,—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; which offices were evermore had in such reverend Estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined ..... and also by public Prayer, with Imposition of Hands, were approved and admitted thereto by lawful Authority. And, therefore, to

the intent that these Orders may be continued and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, in the Church of England, or suffered to execute any of the Functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the Form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination.' At the time of ordination it is directed that 'the Bishop, with the Priests present, shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth the order of Priesthood.'

"12. Fifthly—The Church of England believes that every Priest has the power committed to him of forgiving and retaining sins. The Bishop, when admitting him to the Priesthood, says—'Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of GOD, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our Hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained,' &c. And she invites all persons troubled in conscience, either in sickness or in preparation for Holy Communion, to 'make a special confession of their sins,' to their parish priest, 'or to some other discreet and learned minister of GOD'S Word,' 'that they may receive the benefit of Absolution together with ghostly counsel and advice.'—(See *Forms of Ordering Priests*, *Visitation of the Sick*, and *Order of Holy Communion*.)

"13. Sixthly—The Church of England holds unreservedly the ancient Catholic Creeds of the Church, and declares that 'they ought thoroughly to be received and believed,' incorporating them in her public Services. And, as regards the ceremonies of the Church and accessories of worship, she declares in the 30th Canon of 1603 that—'It was far from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake or reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised; that it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do not endamage the Church of GOD nor offend the minds of sober men.' And she deems it extremely reprehensible for any one 'through his private judgment willingly and purposely to break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of GOD, and be ordained and approved by common authority.'—(*Article* XXXIV.)

"14. We hope that you, our Brother Christians, will look carefully for yourselves into the Offices and Formularies contained in our Book of Common Prayer; and you

will, we feel sure, be convinced that the Church of England is no mere sect or body of separatists, but a true and living Branch of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

"15. And, in order that you who are members with us of the One Catholic Church founded by CHRIST and His Apostles, and administered by their successors, the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, may appreciate more fully the true character of our religion, we invite you to enter freely into our churches, and be present at our worship. In doing so, you will observe that, while traces of our past history may be seen in the varied character of our Ritual, so that in some of our churches it is not brought out in all its fulness and beauty, yet that, where the English worship is restored to its integrity, the Service is performed and the Holy Eucharist celebrated with a reverence and devotion which, we trust, you will admit leaves little or nothing to be desired.

"16. And while we thus point out to our Catholic visitors that the English Church, in its true aspect, is in perfect accordance with Catholic Usage and Tradition, we are also bold to say that those Christians who would measure our religious state by the standard of the Bible alone will find a careful adherence to Holy Scripture pervading the whole system and formularies of the Church of England. And to the Protestants of Germany and other countries who have passed through the ordeal of Rationalism we would, with thankfulness to Almighty GOD, point to the stand made by the English Bishops and Clergy against recent tendencies of a similar character in this land, and claim it as an evidence that the maintenance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Apostolic ages is the best safeguard against the snares of Infidelity.

"17. Greatly should we rejoice if the gathering of the intelligent Foreigners in our Metropolis should, by the blessing of Divine Providence, be the means of drawing earnest Christians together, and uniting them in one holy fellowship and doctrine as in ancient times.

"And now, with the assurance of our hearty goodwill and Christian sympathy, we commend this short Address to your earnest consideration."

These, then, are the principles of the Church of England, taken not from the personal witness of individuals, but from the public documents

of the community, which carefully express its deliberate judgment. It can easily be demonstrated, therefore, that they are substantially the same unchangeable principles which energize in the Oriental Churches, and are admitted and acted upon as true in the rest of Western Christendom; so that a basis exists upon which a superstructure may be safely erected in the future.

The present volume of Essays is put forth with the intention of considering certain details bearing on the Re-union question, from individual and independent points of view. Most of them have reference to the religious isolation of the Church of England. Each of the twelve writers is responsible alone for what he himself has written, and is in no degree answerable for more. The Editor is only responsible for his own Essay and for this Introduction, both of which he writes in his private capacity as a clergyman of the Church of England, and not as the Secretary of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom. Furthermore, no member of that Association is responsible,* directly or indirectly, for either or any of the Essays, nor for the terms of this Introduction;

* "In joining the Association, no one is understood as thereby expressing an opinion on any matter which may be deemed a point of controversy, or on any religious question, except that the object of the Association is desirable."

nor is this volume a publication of that Association in any sense of the phrase.

The respective writers very probably look at the question of Re-union from an entirely different point of view. In fact, this must be evident, as some are Roman Catholics; and another is a member of the Eastern Church; and at present they differ more or less as to the means to be employed for bringing about so desirable a consummation. Were all agreed, there would, of course, be no necessity for the publication of Essays to promote agreement, or to induce thoughtful men on either side of the walls of separation to come to an understanding for the overthrow of divisions, and the re-establishment of what was in ancient times.

That, both religiously and morally, as well as socially and politically, Christian nations need some cure for their increasing distractions and multiplying difficulties must be apparent to all. That a Corporate Re-union between the three great divisions of the Christian Family would do more than can easily be imagined to provide such a cure may, *ex necessitate rei*, be rationally entertained: and, moreover, that the Church Universal will participate in a triumph greater than is recorded in the annals of the past, ere the Bridegroom returns, seems more than probable, as well from ancient prophecy as

from the visions and hopes of the sanctified. That this book may, in some small degree, assist in bringing the Re-union movement before some who, as yet, have taken no part in promoting it, in order to enlist more in the pious work of praying for Peace and Unity, and so of bringing "joy to the nations," is the earnest desire of the writer of these lines, who humbly commends it to the blessing of ALMIGHTY GOD, and to the charity of the faithful.

F. G. L.

19, *Coleshill Street, Eaton Square, London.*
Epiphany, 1867.

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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.*

"WATCHMAN, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?" is often asked still of those who have, in their degree, the office of watchman in the City of GOD. What signs are there of any approaching dawn from this chill night of separation and antagonism between those who say to GOD the same common profession of faith? They may be but bright streaks which one sees here and there; yet these may not the less betoken the character of the coming dawn, and that GOD will send a gracious rain upon His inheritance, refreshing it when wearied.

Years seem to do now the work of decennia; yet in so mighty a work as the Re-union of Christendom we cannot measure its approach by any calculations of human time. Nay, it

* Great pressure of labour has prevented my reading more than one or two of the following Essays. The prefixing then of these remarks, at the wish of the Editor, only indicates a deep interest in the subject upon which they treat, not any opinion as to the way in which it is handled by any one, which mostly I do not know.

will perhaps not sensibly approach, until it *is*. If it were man's work, one might look out for negotiations, conferences, the expression of the minds of the influential, the disposition or indisposition of powerful religious bodies. We might be discouraged by censures, disheartened by mistakes, sickened by the supercilious tone of some in high station, cowed by rebuffs. But since the work, if wrought at all, must be the work of GOD, then all these human difficulties are but the mountains which have to be levelled as His pathway, the crooked places which have to be made straight. Absence of love and prayer and holiness are alone the real hindrances to Re-union. Before love and prayer all human obstacles are but as the barrier which hems in the accumulating weight of waters: when their full weight is gathered, the barrier will give way or be surmounted.

Hindrances, then, or difficulties, or misconceptions, nay, one may say, indispositions, are but ordinary things. Opposition is so much encouragement. For misconceptions, when removed, wonderfully clear the sight, which they before impeded. The eye sees at once, when the cataract has been taken away. Opposition evinces men's sense of the inherent strength of that which it opposes; indisposition, which, from its dull sluggishness, is the weariest, most immoveable drag, is but one of the "ve-

teris vestigia fraudis" which prayer will in time quicken into life.

Obstacles! why what else but obstacles were to be expected, in a work which is for the glory of GOD, which aims at, prays for nothing less, than the removal of barriers which have suspended for eight centuries the intercommunion of East and West and have for above three centuries kept us involved in the consequences of that original piteous quarrel with the East with which we personally had nothing to do, and those which severed from the Roman communion almost the whole Saxon element of Christendom? Matters are not ripe for negotiation; so it is no matter of surprise that an undefined statement of gravamina, such as I myself made, should, under powerful adverse influences, have been silenced at Rome, and that the book was put into the Index,* in company with two others which contained blasphemies against our LORD'S All-Holiness. This last, if it be so, would seem to us a needless aggravation of pain. Yet a book has ere now been put into the Index, written by one in the Roman Communion, approved by Catholic authorities, because it contained "Wholesome advice from the B. V. to her indiscreet worshippers."† No ground,

* It was stated in the *Weekly Register*.

† The "Monita salutaria B. Mariæ Virginis ad cultores suos indiscretos."—Gant, 1673. Three French translations were published in the following year, one attributed to Ger-

then, has been lost, because no definite negotiations have been made. A book has simply been prohibited which contained matter both on that most tender subject and on the personal infallibility of the Pope, which were not likely to be approved by a Roman Congregation: They were Italian devotions, (although domesticated in England), to which I mainly excepted; the exception, if noticed at all, was not likely to meet any favourable reception in Italy. From the very fact, too, that I imagined that I was writing upon what were not Articles of faith I may have given pain and offence, where I did not mean it.* The idea itself, that the Council of Trent might be legitimately ex-

beron, the learned Benedictine of St. Maur.—(Barbier Dict. des Anonymes, No. 20,986.) The most remarkable approbation was that by the celebrated P. de Walemburg, suffragan to the Archbishop of Cologne, a Divine of acknowledged authority. It was also approved by the Vicar General of the Province, by two Doctors of Divinity at Cologne, by the Arch-Priest and Censor of books at Gant. It was, however, put into the Index, in "whatever language it was or should be printed, until it should be reformed." Bourdaloue was directed to preach against it. M. de Choiseul, Bp. of Tournay, "defended the approbation which he had given to the work, in a Pastoral letter, in which he set himself to show that the 'Monita salutaria' contain nothing tending to diminish devotion to the B.V., and that the only object of the author was to hinder that devotion from degenerating into idolatry."—Biog. Univ. v. Widenfeldt.

* Since I wrote the above, one has informed me that a member of the Congregation of the Index stated to himself that the "Eirenicon" has not been put in the Index. The Index for 1866 has not reached England.

plained, so that it could be received by Anglo-Catholics, and that our Articles contain nothing which is, in its grammatical sense, adverse to the Council of Trent, remains untouched and unrepudiated. And this is the intellectual basis of a future union, when GOD shall have disposed men's hearts on both sides to look the difficulties in the face, and the presence of the common foe, unbelief, shall have driven them together. Since Bossuet found no difficulty in accepting an exposition of the Augsburg Confession, much less need there be any as to the Thirty-nine Articles, which are free from the special difficulties of Lutheranism. And when that explanation shall have been offered and accepted, the office of the Anglican Articles, in maintaining clear doctrinal truth on the one side, and in explaining our insulated position on the other, will have ceased. The structure of some of them shows manifestly that they were intended to be temporary.* This ad-interim office over, they would obviously cease to be.

The conception of the possibility of Re-union is more than half-way to Re-union. It is a *πού στῶ*. Hope inspires courage, bounds over barriers, wings prayer. The idea that Reunion is possible, appeals to the deepest feelings

* Art. xxxv. xxxvi. Art. xxxviii. also alludes to a passing fanaticism.

of our nature; it calls up all the longing which had been compressed and oppressed and chained down by hopelessness; it touches the inmost chords of our supernatural life, the Oneness which we have in CHRIST. All we who are, as we hope, of the soul of the Church, must be one in CHRIST; all we who believe (as we confess in our Creeds) in "one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church," must believe in the organic unity of those portions of it between whom intercommunion is suspended. We know that we are one; for what we believe we know; we must believe it, else our words would be false before GOD; we do believe it; we have never doubted it. It may require some words to explain it, to reconcile the outward shortcomings with our inward faith and knowledge; but faith sees more directly than intellect. Our childhood's faith no more doubted the oneness of the Church than our own existence, be the solution of the outward phenomena what it may.

Why, then, should we not be one through intercommunion? There may be great difficulties; there are. But, the hope called into being, the possibility of the breaking-down of this partition-wall granted, our present state of severance is so obviously unnatural, so antinatural, that the soul knows and feels that it cannot last for ever. The first crack of the ice is the earnest that the stream shall be un-

bound—that "He sendeth out His word and melteth them; He bloweth with His wind and the waters flow."

Even humanly speaking, then, the fact that GOD has, to say the least, permitted this thought of union to fix itself in so many souls, is, in itself, an earnest of its accomplishment. Perhaps it may be true that no great idea takes large possession of men's minds, but that, in the Providence of GOD, it is in the way to be accomplished. For its underlying truth gives it force, its root in man's affections insures its growth. The bud is the earnest of the fruit.

So is it, probably, in truths and principles of nature. But the longing for Re-union is supernatural. It is the fruit of Divine love shed abroad in various hearts. It is the Divine conviction, that what God willed must be. It is the sense of awakened consciences, that the duty which our Divine Redeemer enjoined, should be; that, whatever grounds may have forced its suspension, it is a duty unfulfilled: that it must be fulfilled, if there be any way of fulfilling it, without sacrificing duties as sacred, as Divine, as solemnly enjoined; that we are bound, as we are His disciples, to see whether it cannot be fulfilled, how we can contribute to its fulfilment, whether the obstacles to its fulfilment may not be rightfully and lawfully surmounted.

Whether then we look at it, as the voice of more awakened conscience, or deeper love, or loyalty to our LORD'S commands (if not contrary to our other fealty to Him), or sense of the requisitions of our faith, or the expansion or realisation of our belief, or all these severally in different persons, or unitedly in the same, it is a Divine impulse from Him Who ever has in His hands human consciences and hearts and convictions, the Author of our Faith, from Whose holy Inspiration alone "all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed," Whose Alone is "that most excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace, and of all virtues."

This has been attested alike by that mingled fascination and awe with which the thought has been received. People have gazed at it, wondered at it, looked at it as a beautiful dream; yet while they thought it a dream they owned it beautiful. Few ventured to speak against it. For the greatness of the truth awed them. They said it was "impossible." True! humanly speaking, "it is impossible." And therefore, according to that deep saying, "I believe, because it is impossible;"—for had not revealed truth been beyond the power and thought and capacity of man, it had not been supernatural and Divine—so we may say, "I hope, because it is impossible." For the thought

of what is humanly so impossible could not have come into so many minds of such different temperaments, hopefulness, convictions, unless *He* had inspired it Who can bring it to pass, and therefore inspired it, because He willed to effect it. He, "with Whom all things are possible."

On the one hand, then, repugnance, indifference, dislike, hostility, opposed convictions count as nothing. They are mere powers of nature. They are but the ice which has to be melted. They are nothing new: they do but spring from a traditional system, an inveterate prejudice, a hopelessness of any way out of our present state without sacrifice of truth, which we ourselves shared, until GOD taught us otherwise. But new hopes, new love, new yearnings, these come from GOD; for they can come from none beside. And it is the sporadic character of this new hope, love, yearnings, which at once is so remarkable and so bespeaks their Author. It is nothing to us that the incorrect term "The Unity of Christendom" should be rejected as the object of common prayer, if the "Re-union of Christendom" be owned as the object of prayer. It is nothing, if hints as to the conditions of Re-union, suggested rather than expressed, purposely left vague in order to fix the minds of the English on the thought of its possibility and to avoid a pre-

mature discussion, of details, were misunderstood. It could hardly be otherwise. This alters nothing. Nor is it in the long run unhopeful, if, at the first look we, who long for a healthful Re-union, are treated by some with contempt, by others as rebels. This, too, was to be expected. But it is a great fact that, in the Greek Church, the late Patriarch of Constantinople, together with six members of the Synod, "the Metropolitans of Lemnos, Cos, Cyzicus, two Metropolitans from Thessaly, and one from Illyria,"* venerable and earnest men from Europe, Asia, the Islands, should have received with expressions of deep satisfaction the commendatory letters of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others of our Bishops, and expressed themselves "grateful for this token of brotherly feeling, and preserved them in the Archives of the Patriarchate as a memorial of the opening of friendly relations between the two Churches." When, besides, we find that the like preliminary dispositions to, and desire for Re-union was felt and expressed by the Patriarch of Antioch; that the Patriarch of Jerusalem (notwithstanding the ill-omened Anglo-German Episcopate there, which reverses one important object for which it was instituted, the cultivation of friendly relations with the orthodox Greek

* Rev. G. Williams, fourth paper of Eastern Church Association, p. 5.

Church,*) received affectionately one known to have visited the East to promote this Re-union; that the Metropolitan of Nazareth greeted the plan "as the salvation of the world;" that the devout Bishop of Mount Tabor was deeply interested in it; that the Bishops of Homs and Hamah were hearty in their approval, and that the Bishop of Smyrna expressed himself strongly in favour of Re-union; what can we say but, what on other occasions which so far exceeded our hopes, we have often said, "This is the LORD'S doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes? Thanks be to Thee, O LORD!"

More remarkable yet is the largeness of mind and adherence to the old ecclesiastical rule and absence of ambition, evinced by the fact that one Bishop alone of all the Prelates with whom Mr. Williams conversed, seemed to think "that union was to be brought about by our adoption of the rite of the Orthodox Church" [of the East]. This was in conformity with the Council of Constantinople, which enacted that the several Bishops should not invade Churches beyond their boundaries, nor confuse the Churches, and, in the well-known canon, claimed only for Constantinople, "an eminence of honour after the Bishop of Rome because it is new Rome."†

* See Archbishop Howley's letter re-printed at the end of these remarks.

† Conc. Const. Can. 23.

This coincides with an impression which some of us have entertained, that the restoration of union might be more easy with the Græco-Russian Church, because we have only to satisfy each other as to our orthodoxy; while, in other respects, each might live according to its own traditions.

Nor are these mere vague declarations of kindness, destined to melt away upon nearer acquaintance with each other. The learned and very thoughtful Metropolitan of Chios, Gregory of Byzantium (already known for his well-considered plan for the Re-union of the Armenian Church), in a letter which he has allowed to be published in Greek and English,* while reserving details for hereafter, lays down the broad principle, that our agreement in the authoritative rule of faith must in time, "according to logical necessity and consequence," insure our agreement as to the rest. And this agreement of principle he finds herein, that both the Greek and English Church "accept as the supreme and infallible criterion of Christian truth the Word of GOD, that is, the Holy Scripture, interpreted, however, by sacred tradition as embodied in the writings of the Godly-wise Fathers of every place and time (which is the expression of the Catholic mind of

* Paper iv. of Eastern Church Assoc., p. 10.

the Church) and logical inquiry and investigation."

Who, but One, could have awakened these feelings in the eminent Fathers of the Greek Church, apart from and without concert with one another, yet not less strong when united in synod, save the Blessed Spirit, Who bloweth where He listeth, but, where His breath is, *there* is love? Nor, in regard to the recognition of us, as true members of the Church of CHRIST, is it any slight token of good-will, that one Metropolitan consecrated the portable altar of him who travelled among them; others ever gave him the sacred elements which they had blessed in preparation for the consecration, wherewith he might celebrate the Holy Eucharist. Had they thought us "heretics," or our Orders null, this would have been a profanation.

The like predispositions in the Russian Church are attested by the Bishop* of Moray and Ross, and are the more remarkable because he purposely "abstained from introducing the subject," since he supposed himself to represent another Prelate. But he says:* "I conversed with scarcely a single Russian who did not introduce the subject himself, and converse upon it in the most friendly and *earnest* manner."

* Charge 1866, p. 15.

"To understand each other, to learn and know the doctrine, discipline and worship of our respective Churches, to master such works as represent truly and with authority the tenets of our Churches, and to abstain in the mean time from *all acts* which could compromise or irritate either: this was the desire, and these were the feelings of *all* those with whom I conversed." These are indeed far-off preliminaries; they imply a strange ignorance of one another; but they indicate the operation of that Holy Spirit of Love, Who draws into one those who are far off. The words of the Grand Duke Constantine show that the feeling is not mingled (as some might suspect) with this world's politics. The Bishop of Moray tells us that* "at the close of a long and interesting conversation on the subject of the Re-union of the Churches, the Grand Duke said with much feeling, 'It is a subject on which I have long and often thought, and in which I take a lively interest. It is a subject in which I think *all* ought to take an interest; for I am sure it must be pleasing to our LORD JESUS CHRIST to see any attempt being made to accomplish the object of His last prayer, that we all may be one.'" "In this feeling," he tells us, "many fully sympathise, and amongst them many of the most pious, enlightened and in-

* Charge 1866, p. 19.

fluential prelates and laymen of the Orthodox Church in Russia." *"The Bishops and learned men on either side," says the venerable Philaret, the Metropolitan of Moscow, "may be able to reconcile the difference between the Eastern and Anglican Churches: but the difficulty will be with the people." But the people are to be won, not by disputing, not in any intellectual way, not by circulation of "information," but by prayers, and by the legitimate influence of their own Bishops. The exhortations of the Bishop of Moray to his little flock to pray for the Re-union of Christendom, will, we may trust, swell that choir of prayer which has now, for above a quarter of a century, been ascending from England.

With these large facts from the North and South of the Russo-Greek Church, it is evidently no indication of its mind that one who appears to have been a German convert† to it, thinks that he has a vocation‡ "to build up again the Orthodox Western Church, stone by stone, individual by individual, congregation by congregation," and that, giving up as hopeless the idea of "uniting the two wholes," he would

* Charge 1866, p. 27.

† "I *found* the Orthodox Church to be the only true Catholic Church, and, consequently, try to bring about a Re-union of the other Christian Churches (chiefly the English Church) with the Orthodox."—*Dr. Overbeck, Catholic Orthodoxy, Pref. p.* 1.

‡ *Ib.* p. 198.

begin by gathering single members. The policy is at variance with the ancient traditions of the Eastern Church, which has, as relates to Christendom, hitherto abode within its territorial boundaries, converting the heretics or the heathen within them, or bursting out in Apostolic missions to the Isles of the Pacific beyond the Empire, or to the North of China. Yet towards the West it has remained unaggressive, not aggravating the evils of suspension of communion by the embitterments of individual proselytising. Dr. Overbeck, with the eagerness of, apparently, a convert, would reverse all this. He attacks, separately but at once, the Roman and Anglican communions; hides the central difficulty of the "Filioque" under the mere general terms that we should "pledge* ourselves not to *retain* or introduce anything Western which the Holy Governing Synod does not approve of;" puts forward in an exaggerated way the practice of the invocation of saints as a doctrine which should make those who do not use it guilty of heresy;† denies our

* Dr. Overbeck, Catholic Orthodoxy, p. 199.

† Dr. Overbeck (p. 44) quotes the statement of the Confessio Orthodoxa, p. 300-29:—"We implore the mediation of the saints with God, that they may intercede for us. And we need their help, not as if they assisted us by their own proper power, but that they may apply in our behalf for the grace of God through their prayers." This is the practice. The doctrine rejected is thus expressed: "Especially if we should despise the mediation of the saints, we most grievously irritate the Divine Majesty, not

Orders on grounds upon which neither the Eastern nor Western Church would deny them;* ignorant, all the while, that he is so far

honouring those who unblameably served It." Dr. Overbeck speaks of this as "a gratifying contrast with the tame style and subdued voice of the Roman Church in the Council of Trent, which seems to be made for entrapping converts, prescribing the *minimum* and hiding the *maximum*." To me it seems that while the Roman Church has wisely laid down the *minimum* of what she holds as *de fide*, without enjoining any practice whatever, "it is good and useful to invoke the saints." The Confessio Orthodoxa stops short even of this. It states the practice, but condemns only "contempt of their mediation," *i. e.*, their intercession with ALMIGHTY GOD for us, which no one who believes in "The Communion of the Saints" can doubt that they, who when on earth ever prayed for their fellow travellers toward heaven, continue for us, when they are themselves in safety in heaven.

* "*Had Parker been consecrated conformably to the present form* the case would lie quite differently. But as Parker's consecration was invalid, the Apostolic line was broken off, irremediably broken off. The Anglican difficulty lies, if not solely, at least chiefly in the deficient form of Episcopal consecration."—Overbeck, p. 69. And this deficiency he places therein, that in Parker's consecration the words used were "Take the Hollie Gost, &c.," without those other words since added, "for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God." But the words "Accipe Spiritum sanctum," are not only held by Roman authorities to be adequate, provided the office to which any one be ordained or consecrated be expressed in prayer, in some other part of the office, but the addition of the words "for the office, &c.," is held to add nothing whatever to the validity of the consecration. In Parker's consecration, all four Bishops placed their hands on his head, and all said the words (See Lambeth Record in Bramhall's works iii. 205, and contemporary Cambridge transcript, *ib.* p. 212, where the words are in Latin "Accipe spiritum sanctum,") as prescribed in the Roman and Exeter pontificals. See Maskell Mon. Rit. Eccl. Angl. iii. 258.

Dr. Overbeck states further:—"The fact of 're-ordination' is the final and conclusive verdict on the Invalidity

doing the work of the Roman Church which he assails, and dreaming that the rejection of what has been for a thousand years the expression of our faith as to the mode of the existence of Almighty GOD would be the substructure of this new building of a portion of His Church. Blind leader of the blind! If any should, in default of more accurate information, be shaken by his confident statements, it is morally certain that, with the exception of a few not very wise individuals, they would not begin the enlargement of their faith by the abandonment of that which has, all their lives through, been the expression of it, as to one very central truth; and even while they believe (as the Council of Florence said) that the Greek and Latin Fathers under different terms held one and the same faith, they would not drop the term which expresses the Eternal Procession of the HOLY GHOST from the FATHER and the SON, or from the FATHER through the SON. For such an act would probably involve in *them* the disbelief of the Eternal Procession of the HOLY GHOST altogether. The Greeks, retaining the ancient unenlarged form of the

of Anglican ordinations."—P. 71. But it has been shown that the precedent upon which our priests have been reordained was grounded, in part at least, on the lying fable of the Nag's Head Ordination, and so has need to be reconsidered. (See Haddan's note on Bramhall's works, T. 3, p. 114, ed. Anglo-Cath.)

Creed, understand it, according to the traditional belief of their great Fathers, of an Eternal Procession of the HOLY GHOST from the FATHER through the SON; accordingly, as containing a statement as to the mode of the Eternal Being of GOD. If we were to drop the "Filioque," we should be in a different position from those who have never had it. In parting with the expression of the Faith we should probably part with the Faith itself expressed by it; and men would come to understand the Scripture term "proceedeth from the Father" of His mission only since the day of Pentecost, and would lose the faith in the mode of His eternal existence altogether, probably of His existence also as One Person in the Adorable Trinity.

The great difficulty in regard to the Greek Church does lie in that almost invincible prejudice which Photius infused into the Greek mind, that the Latin formula "Filioque" involved the heresy that there were two Ἀρχαί in the Divine nature. We know how difficult, or to man impossible to eradicate, are those deep-rooted prejudices. Yet invincible prejudices are vincible by GOD. They yield to His grace. And an "invincible prejudice," when overcome, opens the soul the more readily to truth. The broken barrier becomes an opening and an access to the soul. The thought that we have been misled as to the belief of

others, that, with whatever seeming ground, "we have done them injustice in ascribing *this* heresy to them," becomes an acknowledgment which prepares the mind to receive all besides in a good sense. If the West, or we in particular, were to reject that heresy with anathema, at least this objection might be gone, and the Greek Church, with their strong tenacity of what they have received from their fathers, might the rather acquiesce in our retaining what we have received from our fathers for these thousand years. The other wrong imputed to the West, that it added to the common Creed without advice had of the Easterns, may be mitigated by the well-ascertained fact that the clause came in by mistake, first in Spain, as being supposed to have been in the original Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, and was finally adopted in the Council of Florence, when the long prescriptive use had probably made it essential to the expression of this portion of the faith of the West. The mistake, probably, of the Latins at the Council of Florence was the attempt to force upon the unprepared Greeks the formula which, in their minds, was associated with heresy. But it is one thing to attempt to force it upon them, as the Latins did; quite another for them to wish to extort from us the abandonment of our inherited expression of what, when

well understood on both sides, is the same faith. Increased love and understanding of the Western mind may, by GOD'S blessing, accustom them to dissociate the formula from the heresy, which every Western would utterly reject.

It is more difficult to speak of the sympathy awakened in the Roman Communion, because that sympathy has taken two very different forms; the one which contemplates only the gathering in of individuals, and would reap the whole Anglican Church as the sum of all those individuals. The other looks to that, to which we also look, the Re-union of the whole, only that, naturally, we have in our minds definite explanations on all the points of difference, which we are convinced that they could give (if they would) authoritatively, and which, if given authoritatively, we could receive. They, since we have not proposed them, have only this principle, that they could give explanations, if only those explanations did not involve their parting with anything laid down to be "de fide."

These two "opinions" are laid down clearly in a recent French work, whose very existence is an evidence of the interest felt in the subject in that great Church, which is perhaps the more bound to us for the welcome given by us to her priests and abbés during the first French revolution, when an infidel power among them would have destroyed them.

M. Gondon says:* "We shall be told perhaps that the ensemble of the facts and documents which we cite do not explain very clearly the ways and means whereby the union desired, sought, proposed, may be effected. This may be true in a certain sense, but (and it is of moment to pay attention to it) this is the least important side of the question.

"When Anglicans and Catholics shall be agreed as to the principles, when they shall understand one another on the points of doctrine, the Re-union will realise itself of itself; and, if it is to be collective, the difficulties, which may now seem insurmountable, will resolve themselves by a logical consequence of the common understanding on the fundamental principles.

"No one can question but that England is very really in the way to return to its ancient faith; but as soon as one enquires how this Re-union of the Churches is to be realised, one finds oneself met by two opinions.

"According to the one, the return of the nation to the worship of its fathers can only be the work of time, and this revolution is to work itself out gradually, through individual and insulated conversions, conversions already very numerous, and which, in the last thirty years,

* De la Réunion de l'église d'Angleterre Protestante a l'église Catholique.—Avant. Propos, p. ix.

are multiplied by an ever-increasing proportion. This movement, it is true, already gives to Catholics a considerable numerical importance in the population of the kingdom; but although time is nothing for the Church of GOD, this hope does not satisfy the more impatient longings.

"According to the second of these opinions (which, in the last twenty-five years, grows and strengthens) as in 1841 'a young member of the University of Oxford' [Dalgairns] said, 'It is a very long work to gather in a nation, grain by grain, atom by atom. I would point out to them a way to reap the whole kingdom and to gather the fruits into the garners of the Church.'"

Of course, I could not adopt some of this language; for, *e. g.*, unless "the worship of our fathers" included "the invocation of saints" and the "cultus of the B. V.," I believe that we have the self-same worship which we ever had. I cite it only as exhibiting the two aspects which the idea of Re-union takes. I might add, as an additional ground why the Roman Church, too, should desire the way of Corporate Re-union rather than that of individual conversions, that people, in calculating the conversions to the Roman Church, forget to say where they come from, and also what the English Church itself gains from the

English people outside her. For if the English Church gains more from Dissent or unbelief or ungodliness, than she loses to Rome, then time alone will not exhaust her if she continues to be thus replenished. Take that vast field of the unbaptised, the United States, where the gains of the Church are more visible because there is not that outlying body, which hangs on only by an hereditary faith, the increase of those won to the Church is very large, the losses to Rome are, I believe, very small. Even in the late fratricidal war the souls added to the Church more than replaced those who were translated to the unseen Church above.

But in whichever way any of our Roman brethren look to the restoration of Communion, whether by individual conversions or by Corporate Re-union, a spirit of prayer and longing seems to have been poured out upon them, too; and, while we both pray, united herein though apart in communion, He to Whom we plead that same adorable Sacrifice, once for all offered on the Cross, He Whom we remind of His own prayer, and long of Him that it be fulfilled, will hear us in His own way; which must be the best. We must be thankful for the prayers offered for us, whatever form they assume, because they ask for us the grace of GOD.

And in regard to the Latin Church I believe that the difficulty of Re-union might be re-

moved if the prejudices of a large portion of our people were removed. The mass of the English believe things to be matters of faith in the Roman Church, which, in some cases are no matters of faith, in others are not what they believe them to be. There is a great crust of real prejudice which has to be broken through, and which might be broken through by aid of accurate statements, how much is *de fide*, how much only proximate to faith, how much opinion only. I know not whether any attempt has been made systematically to do this. A class of controversialists is always trying to thicken the mist. False imputations are continually repeated. A traditional language is, even in these days of investigation, handed down unchanged by those in whose mouths "tradition" means only what is false. But the interest in such anti-Roman controversy has, except with a few veteran controversialists, much diminished, in the presence of attacks which assail the very principles and centre and source of the faith. The last year's active attempt to stir up an "Anti-Popery" cry has, on the whole, proved a failure. The masses will not be moved. It would be impossible now to renew the ferment which was stirred up on occasion of "the Papal aggression." "Protestantism in danger" could hardly be again made a hustings-cry. There may remain a dull, slug-

gish impression among the middle classes that "Popery" is a different religion, but it is an impression so vague, so unsubstantiated, so ignorant, that one should hope that clear statements of what is, or what is not of faith would, as far as they should reach, dissipate it. Probably this would be the next definite step towards Re-union.

Remarkably enough, while some Roman Catholic organs have persisted in regarding a book which I believe (except the recent doctrine of the Immaculate Conception) raised no question as to anything which could be called an article of faith, as a systematic attack on the faith of the Roman Church, the Review which is the organ of the French Jesuits admitted an article by a very eminent Divine, I believe of Belgium, which suggested such a procedure. A writer in the Études summed up thus:*— "Come what will, it is certain that, to unite the established to the Catholic Church, Dr. P. has made considerable advances, such as no Protestant pacificator has ever made. Mr. P. proceeds with a full knowledge of the case. Perhaps no Protestant has studied the Catholic doctrine better than he; and, on the other side, he is equally acquainted with the chief doctors of the English Church. It is then with full

* Études relig., &c., Jan., p. 136, quoted by M. Gondon, p. 287, 288.

competency that he says recently*:—'On comparing my belief with that expressed by the Council of Trent, I thought that its terms as explained by some individual Doctors, yet of authority among you, did not condemn what I believed, and did not require me to believe what I did not believe. I thought that the Council of Trent, *so* explained, might be a basis of union. If I may sum up briefly, that not only in the whole range of doctrine on the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, but also on original sin and justification and all the doctrines of grace, there is nothing to be explained; that on the Canon of Scripture, the Holy Eucharist, and the anointing of the sick, there is what has to be mutually explained; that on what I suppose you will account points of less magnitude, as those alluded to in our Art. xxii., there will be need not only of explanation but of limitation, what is to be *de fide*.'

"Here are serious advances, and perhaps all the elements necessary to establish an understanding. Some changes to be made in the form; some consequences to deduce from admitted principles; some ideas perhaps to complete would not become a rock of offence, especially when evidence is given of so much loyalty and goodwill. True, that Mr. P. has declared at the same time that he is only 'a

* Second letter to the *Weekly Register*, Dec. 6th, 1865.

simple priest,' that he is invested with no authority, and that consequently he could not take upon himself to give the detailed explanations."

M. Gondon, who quotes this as well as another sharp statement, admits the possibility of guarantees being given, even while he regards as a phantom the dangers against which I expressed a wish for guarantees.

"Mr. P. will soon see the phantom disappear, against which he asks for guarantees, when he says that in case the Church of England should unite with the Church of Rome, this last ought not to force Anglicans to admit certain doctrines, which are taught by its priests and in books of devotion approved by the Bishops. He wishes that this point should be stipulated on both sides, *which could present no difficulty.* For if the doctrines, to which Dr. P. alludes, are 'de fide,' he declares that he admits them; and if they are not, Rome will not impose them on Anglicans any more than on Catholics."

The same is expressed by a Dominican "reader in Theology,"* whose statement is the more remarkable as being contained in an impassioned appeal to the Russian Church not to unite with us,† in which he exhibits us to

* Chéry, Appel à l'Eglise Russe et à l'Eglise Anglicane, approved by the Provincial of the Dominicans in France.

† One of the approvers calls it "a victorious answer to the

them in an odious light, and seems to think that there is no good left among us.* Still he

vain attempts at Re-union proposed by Anglicanism to Russian orthodoxy." He recommends its study to the Russians.

* "Anglicanism has laid aside all Catholicity, we might almost say, all Christianity;" p. 60. "The English will not remain thus, and, thanks to the principle of free inquiry laid down by Luther, will reach the extreme limit of rationalism;" p. 61. "The [high] Church itself is only a ramification among the numerous sects. The general character of all these sects is a denial of the supernatural. Rationalism has ended in the most absolute naturalism. Nineteen out of twenty Anglicans have ceased to be Christians: they do not retain even a gleam of faith;" pp. 61, 62. "For years baptism in the whole territory of the British Isles has not perhaps been once validly given, *since the sacramental form was essentially altered;*" p. 63. "Among our neighbours beyond the Channel, Christianity is perishing, faith is becoming extinct, and Anglicanism is passing into pure rationalism;" p. 73. He imputes to us at this day, Henry VIII.'s destruction of monasteries (an example too readily followed in France, Spain, Italy); p. 71, he says that our "missionaries are much more political agents than Apostles; that they seek to propagate English influence as much as to extend the Christian faith," so that "too often the preaching of the Gospel is only a means of planting the British colours on a soil, and neutralising the legitimate influence of any others;" p. 57. Under this head he makes us responsible for the proceedings (whatever they were), of the Madagascar Congregational Missionaries; p. 58. He states that we "deny the Real Presence," and "will see in the ceremony of the Supper only a sign and a symbol;" that we "refuse to Mary the title of Mother of God" (though we receive the Council of Ephesus) and "proscribe prayers for the dead" (although even the law has owned the contrary); that we reject tradition as an exponent of Scripture (p. 62); whereas French Bishops, too, have felt how sacred the "quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus" has been in our eyes. He tells the Russians, that "according to an opinion which has become almost a historical certainty, the Episcopate has never existed in Anglicanism since Matthew Parker and Barlow, origin of the English Episcopate, were

invites the Russian Church and ourselves to reunite ourselves with Rome. On this point he says:—"But will Rome impose certain beliefs, indirectly, which are current among the people, and which, for minds educated in Protestantism, are especially a stumbling-block? The answer lies in those three words which guide the conduct of the Catholic Church: *In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.* 'In things necessary, unity; in things doubtful, liberty; in all, charity.' But how to distinguish things necessary from things doubtful? What is only an opinion for Protestantism, will it become arbitrarily a certainty for the Catholic Church? No! what is only a pious belief will not be to-morrow created into a dogma.* The opinion of a holy person, the thought of a Bishop, even the teaching of a great doctor, do not suffice to constitute an article of faith. The Church proclaims as such only, what has its foundation in Holy Scripture, is rested on a

never ordained Bishops" (p. 64); whereas the juxtaposition of the two names shows that he has never examined the question, and he does not know that nothing turns upon Barlow's consecration, (See Ab. p. xli.) though certain. The Prédicateur Général of the Dominicans in France has inadvertently pledged himself to the exactness of the *facts;* p. vi.

* This assertion has been made in England also. Its explanation is, I fear, only this, that the creation of any thing which was previously held as a "pious opinion" into an article of faith, is held to be a proof that it never was a pious opinion.

constant and unanimous tradition, has been piously revered in all countries and in all ages; finally, which mounts back by an uninterrupted chain to the Apostles, and through the Apostles to JESUS CHRIST, Who is the way, the truth, and the life.* Notwithstanding her incontestable rights and her sovereign authority, the [Roman] Catholic Church shows a marvellous condescension and charity for those who think not as she does. On all controverted points, she leaves them the power of coming to their own conviction, and demands the submission of their minds only on the questions which have received the sanction of the Universal Church. Such, in two words, is the charta which she will publish, on the day when England and Russia shall think seriously of Re-union with her, absolute faith on all the dogmatic points decreed by the Holy Councils and received by the Universal Church, liberty on all other questions."

It is satisfactory, further, to see the doctrines of the Procession of the HOLY GHOST and the Primacy of the Pope "spoken of as susceptible of a good understanding" with the Russian Church. The terms, then, which he con-

* It seems strange that a Dominican should write this in memory of what his forefathers, *e. g.*, Card. Turrecremata, collected in evidence against any tradition of the Immaculate Conception. Still it is satisfactory to see what we hold as a principle acknowledged.

templates, must be something less than Ultramontanists commonly speak of.

Yet, to judge from the recent controversy, there are not a few who practically regard the whole Marian system, such as it is set forth by S. Alphonso Liguori, or even the doctrine that the Blessed Virgin is our Co-Redemptress, as *de fide*, and it has been publicly stated by an American Roman Catholic controversialist, that the Roman Church stands so committed to the doctrine of S. Liguori, that it must stand or fall by it. And this is the point, probably, upon which the Re-union will turn. Yet difficulties are no obstacle, they are the invitation to prayer.

> "When obstacles and trials seem
> Like prison-walls to be,
> I'll do the little I can do,
> And leave the rest to Thee."

In one direction only, intercommunion might be but too easily restored, because we have everything to lose by it and nothing to gain. *Union* with the Scandinavian bodies there cannot be, because they would not give up their Lutheran formulæ, nor should we exchange our Articles for them. And so there would still remain two different faiths.

The English Church and the Scandinavian bodies would be two unlike bodies tied together (which GOD forbid), not united; agreeing to

differ, one only in indifference. The Lutheran and the Catholic belief are as like two different religions as any can be, wherein the belief as to the Adorable Trinity and the Incarnation is the same. The whole doctrine of the application of the merits of CHRIST to fallen man, and the condition of man in consequence of the fall, is radically different. The oft-times repeated doctrine of Luther was, that man was not only, as our Article says, "far gone from original righteousness," but that his whole being was sin;* that to recover him from this state, "The HOLY SPIRIT worketh faith, *where and when* GOD *wills*;"† that "the cause of sin is the will of the evil, viz., the devil and the ungodly, which, GOD not helping them [the Augsburg Confession does not say 'they refusing the grace of GOD,' but 'GOD not helping them '] turns itself away from GOD;"‡ the faith, whereby man is restored, is, not a loving faith which looks out of itself to its Redeemer and its GOD, but a faith which looks into itself, a faith in its own assurance. The Confession of Augsburg again and again defines justifying faith to be, in fact, a faith which believes the man's self to be justified. The contrast does not relate to that common

* See Quenstedt, Theol. Did-Polem. ii. pp. 134-5, Witt.
† Conf. Aug., Art. v. de min. Eccl.
‡ *Ib.* Art. xix.

subject of controversy, between faith and works; for here there is, in fact, no contrast, since faith which did not "work by love," a faith unensouled by love, were not a saving but a dead faith. The characteristic of the Lutheran faith is, that "men are justified freely for Christ's sake," *then* and then only, "*when they believe themselves* to be received into grace, and *that their sins are remitted* to them for CHRIST'S sake."* This faith as to one's self becomes the centre of the whole religion. The objects of the Word and Sacraments are not, that through the Word GOD speaks to the soul, through the sacraments CHRIST unites us with Himself, but that GOD through them generates in the soul this special faith, viz.: that they themselves are received into grace for CHRIST'S sake. "That we may obtain *this* faith, the ministry of teaching the Gospel and of extending Sacraments was instituted. For through the Word and Sacraments, as instruments, [no otherwise, according to Luther, through the Sacraments than through the Word] the HOLY SPIRIT is given, Who, where and when GOD willeth, worketh faith in them who hear the Gospel, that GOD, not for our merits but for CHRIST, justifies *those who believe that they are received* into grace for

* Conf. Aug., Art. iv., de Justif.

CHRIST'S sake."* "Repentance," according to them; consists of two parts, "the one, contrition or terrors driven into the conscience on owning sin; the other, faith, which is conceived from the Gospel, *or* from absolution, and *believes that* its *sins are remitted* for CHRIST."† They reject those who "do not teach that faith is required in the use of the Sacraments, which *believes that sins are remitted.*"‡ "We obtain remission of sins and grace and justification," it is repeated, "only by faith, *believing that we are received* into grace for CHRIST'S sake."§ "Consciences," they say, "cannot be tranquillised by any works, but only by faith, when men lay down as certain, that *they have* GOD appeased for CHRIST'S sake."‖ "True faith," as opposed to "a historical knowledge, such as exists in the ungodly and devils," is according to them, "a faith, which believes not only the history, but also the effect of the history, viz. this article, remission of sins, viz. that *we have* grace, justice and remission through CHRIST. He then who knoweth that *he* hath the FATHER propitious through CHRIST, he truly knoweth GOD, &c."¶ "Paul," they say, "teaches every

* Conf. Aug., Art. 5, de Minist. Eccl. Art. viii. unites the Word and the Sacrament in the same way, "Both the Sacrament *and the Word* are efficacious through the ordinances and command of CHRIST, although they be exhibited through evil men.

† Art. 12. ‡ Art. 13. § Art. 20. ‖ *Ib.* ¶ *Ib.*

where that justice is not to be sought from our observances and worships, which are devised by men, but that it comes through faith *to those who believe that they are received into grace* by GOD for CHRIST'S sake."* "Christian perfection is seriously to fear GOD, and again to conceive great faith, and to trust for CHRIST'S sake, that *we* have GOD appeased."† Faith is hardly mentioned without this limitation, though sometimes less expressly limited to the individual. "This special faith," says the Apology, "*whereby each believes that sins are forgiven to himself* for CHRIST'S sake, and that GOD, for CHRIST'S sake, is appeased and propitious, obtains remission of sins and justifies us."‡ "We, besides that faith that GOD is, require that each should believe that sins are forgiven to *himself*. We contend as to this special faith, &c.,"§ "This (that we receive remission of sins, &c.), comes to be, when we believe that sins are remitted to *us* for CHRIST'S sake."‖ "Obscured was the doctrine of grace and the righteousness of faith which is a chief part of the Gospel, that the merit of CHRIST be well

* Conf. Aug., c. vi. de votis Monach. p. 31. † *Ib.* p. 32.
‡ De Justif. p. 58, ed. Tittm.
§ Apol. Conf., Art. 12 de Pœnit. p. 134.
‖ *Ib.* p. 135. "We will add some few proofs, from which it may be understood that remission of sins comes not from opus operatum on account of contrition, but by that *special faith* whereby each *believes that sins are remitted to himself.*" *Ib.* p. 134.

known, and faith which believes that sins are remitted for CHRIST, be placed far above works. Wherefore Paul, too, lays especial stress upon this topic, to show that Christian righteousness is something else than works of this sort, viz., faith which believes that sins are remitted gratis for CHRIST.*

This faith then as to oneself became the end of all besides. "Faith," the Apology for the Confession says, "is conceived and confirmed through absolution, through hearing of the Gospel, through use of the Sacraments, lest it succumb when it struggles with the terrors of sin and death."† To produce this faith is, according to them, the object of "the Ecclesiastical ministry;" it is the end of sacraments; it is the qualification for the worthy reception of the Holy Eucharist;‡ it is the essence of penitence; it is *the* condition of justification. Without it, nothing avails; it is the substance of all, involves all. The real presence of CHRIST'S Body and Blood is stated; yet the

* Conf. Aug. Abus. v. de discr. cib., p. 27.

† *Ib.* p. 131. "They ought to believe that sins are remitted to *themselves* gratis for CHRIST'S sake. *This* faith raises, supports, and quickens the contrite, &c. *This* faith obtains remission of sins: *this* faith justifies before GOD, &c. *Ib.* p. 130.

‡ "He is truly worthy and rightly prepared who has faith in these words, 'is given and shed for you for the remission of sins.' But he who does not believe these words, or doubts as to them, he is unworthy and unprepared."—Luther, Lesser Catech. Libb. Symb. p. 297.

benefit is to be, not the partaking of CHRIST, the indwelling of CHRIST, the union with CHRIST, but that, through faith in those words of our LORD, "which is given *for you*," "which is shed *for you* for the remission of sins," the sins of those who believe this of themselves are remitted.*

* "Scripture teaches that we are justified before GOD through faith in CHRIST, *when* we believe that sins are remitted *to us* for CHRIST'S sake.—But CHRIST commands to 'do this in memory of Himself;' wherefore the Mass was instituted, that, in those who use the Sacrament, faith may remember what benefits it receives through CHRIST, and may raise and console the fearful conscience."—(Conf. Aug. Abus. 3 de missa, p. 25.) "Q. What does it profit, so to eat and drink? A. This those words indicate, '*For you* is given and shed for the remission of sins;' viz., that *by those words* in the Sacrament, remission of sins, life, righteousness, and salvation are given. For where remission of sins is, *there* is both life and salvation. Q. How can that bodily eating effect things so great? A. Eating and drinking certainly do not effect them, but *those words* which are placed there, '*for you* is given and shed for the remission of sins,' which words, together with bodily manducation, are the sum and substance of this sacrament. And he *who believes these words, has what they say* and as they sound, viz., remission of sins." Lesser Catechism v. sacram. altaris, pp. 296-7, ed. Tittman; and again, 'Larger Catech.,' p. 425, and in the Apol. Conf. Aug., art. de usu sacram., p. 204. "Because in a sacrament there are two things, the sign and *the word* [not 'the substance,' or 'thing signified'], 'the word' in the N. T. is the promise of grace added; the promise of the N. T. is the promise of remission of sins; as the text says here, 'This is My Body which is given for you,' 'This is the cup of the N. T. with My Blood, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins.' The *word*, therefore, offers remission of sins. And *the ceremony* is as a *picture of the word* or 'seal,' as Paul calls it, showing the promise. Therefore, as a promise is useless unless it be received by faith, so the ceremony is useless unless faith be added, which settles truly, that remission of sins is offer-

It is, indeed, absolutely impossible that Luther could have believed that we are, through the Holy Eucharist, partakers of CHRIST Himself, since he wished that he could disbelieve the Presence of His Body and Blood altogether, because it would enable him "to give such a thrust to the Papists;" "but," he added, "I dare not; it stands written." As far as one can think anything fixed of one so variable, one should have thought that his highest belief resembled a recent misbelief, that what is present, what is received, is His Body and Blood, in some way, apart from Himself. But then more reverent far was the devouter form of Calvinistic belief, which denied indeed any Real Presence whatever in the Sacrament, yet, disbelieving this, believed in something which is real — spiritual communion with GOD. Both alike were in error as to the Holy Eucharist; but the Calvinist believed something else which was real, a communion with GOD, only that he erred in connecting *his* "spiritual communion" in any special way with the Holy Eucharist; since *his* "spiritual communion" might be at any time or place, with every breath we breathe. People wondered at the union between the worn-out Lutheranism and the nerveless Cal-

ed here. And as the word was delivered to excite this faith, so the sacrament was instituted, that that visible form meeting the eyes may move hearts to believe.—And this is the principal use of the sacrament."

vinism, wrought in "the Evangelical Church" of the former King of Prussia. Those who looked at the words only of the Tenth Article of the Augsburg Confession (either in its original form, or in its altered form, if construed in any degree in the sense of the original form) thought that the Lutherans gave up a truth. In fact, they had none to give up.

It might be almost said that Luther had one doctrine, viz., this personal belief as to one's own justification through this act of faith, that oneself was justified. He himself said somewhere, or it was said for him by Melanchthon, that not the indulgences, nor the cultus of the saints, &c., were the cause of the German reformation, but the previous absence of *this* belief as to man's justification. He called it "the turning point of a standing or falling Church." The history of Lutheranism has shown that the doctrine of justification which he invented, is the token of one "falling."

It is then utterly beside and short of the real question to treat of this proposed connection with the Scandinavian bodies, as having for an object "the *rectification* of the Danish Episcopate"* (as the conferring of the Episcopate upon those who, since the succession has never been maintained, are not even Priests, has been strangely called). It would be the acknowledg-

* Col. Ch. Chr., 1866, p. 306; 1867, p. 40.

ment of the Confession of Augsburg, as a sound confession of faith. This (which some might feel, who would not feel other grounds) would be a reversal of the deliberate judgment of the framers of our Articles, who, while employing in parts the Confession of Augsburg, carefully and repeatedly excluded the Lutheran doctrine of justification, viz., "that GOD justifies for CHRIST'S sake those that *believe that they themselves* are received into the grace of CHRIST." It would also either commit us to other Lutheran errors, or to an indifference to error. One Danish writer wishes that "from the English side there had been a clearer statement as to what is 'common Christianity.'" But he assumes two things: 1, "that the *essential difference* is recognised between the Apostles' Creed as comprising the Christian's faith and the two other Œcumenical Symbols which more closely define the Church's doctrines on special points;" 2, that the Church of England "does not ascribe a fundamental meaning to ordination." As to the first, the Lutherans professed formerly to receive the three Creeds. This proposal holds that the Apostles' Creed alone, in contrast with the Nicene and Athanasian, and so not understood in their sense, comprises the Christian's faith; 2, We are, as a preliminary to union to be indifferent to the Episcopal succession.

The Danish writer, speaking the mind of those most disposed to accept intercommunion with us, is inclined to admit of "the removal of a real or *supposed* deficiency in the *order* of the Church," if we will agree to look upon it as nothing essential. And in this he speaks what must, of necessity, be the mind of the Danish body, so long as it adheres to the Lutheran symbolical books.* For their symbolical books

* In the Apology for the Confession of Augsburg, Melanchthon still professed their "wish to retain the Ecclesiastical polity, and the degrees made in the Church even *by human authority*. For we know that the Ecclesiastical discipline was, with good and useful intent, so constituted by the Fathers, as the ancient Canons describe. But the Bishops compel our priests either to cast away and condemn this kind of doctrine which we have confessed, or, by a new and unheard of cruelty, they slay the miserable and innocent. These causes hinder our priests from acknowledging their Bishops. So then the cruelty of the Bishops is the cause why the Canonical polity, which we exceedingly wished to preserve, is dissolved in some places." (In Art. xiv., Tittm., pp. 157-8.) But in the "Articles of Smalcald," A.D. 1537, Luther took a different tone. "If the Bishops discharged their own office aright, and took care of the Church and the Gospel, it might be permitted them, *not of necessity*, but in the name of charity and tranquillity, to ordain and confirm our ministers, but on this condition, that all mummeries, conjuring-tricks, phrenzies, and spectres of heathen pomp should be laid aside. But because they are not, nor wish to be true Bishops, but political dynasts and princes who neither preach and teach, nor baptise, nor administer the supper, nor do any work or office of the Church, but persecute and condemn those who, being called, undertake that office, the Church is not to be deserted nor despoiled of ministers through their fault. Wherefore, as old examples of the Church and fathers teach us, we ourselves ought and will to ordain fit persons to this office." (*Ib.* p. 256-7.) The supposed grounds for this are given more explicitly in "the treatise

express their belief, that their ministers are lawfully ordained, that "any pastor may ordain;" their practice implies that those ordained by "any pastor" can do whatever they suppose can be done by any one! To receive Episcopal consecration or ordination would only be a concession to our supposed prejudices, a removal of a "hindrance to Christian union and fellowship between them and us, of something which prevents the surer and more perfect Church *development*, which, from a *mutual* giving and receiving, would ensue." Such ordination or consecration of those who believed that they received nothing, and that they had nothing to receive, would be a

on the power and jurisdiction of Bishops," also subscribed by all the preachers present at the diet of Smalcald, and received in their symbolical books. (Melanchthon, in his Apology, spoke of "our priests." Subsequently they are only called "ministers.") "Since, of Divine right, the degrees of Bishop and Pastor are not different, it is manifest that an ordination made by a Pastor in his own Church is valid. Therefore, since the ordinary Bishops become the enemies of the Church, or will not impart ordination, the Churches retain their right. For wherever the Church is, *there* is the right of administering the Gospel. Wherefore it is necessary that the Church should retain the right of calling, choosing and ordaining ministers. And this right is a gift properly given to the Church, which no human authority can take from the Church, as Paul also attesteth to the Ephesians, when he saith, 'He ascended, He gave gifts unto men.' And he numbers among the gifts proper to the Church, "Pastors and Teachers," and says that such are given for the ministry, for the edification of the Body of CHRIST. Where, then, the true Church is, *there* must needs be the right of choosing and ordaining ministers, as, in case of necessity, a layman, too, absolves, and becomes the minister and Pastor of another." (Tittm. Libb. Symb., pp. 271-2.)

mockery and an unreality. The end proposed is an unbounded vista of future development, inviting us,—we know not whither. In this development we are to borrow something from the Danish theology; for it is to be through "mutual giving and receiving." Certainly no account which we have received of Danish theology would make one anxious to receive aught from it.

For Denmark (it was said to me by Danes forty years ago) was honeycombed with rationalism; Lutheranism had gone through the same phases in Denmark as in Germany. It had come to an early death; and then, having existed for some time in its mummy state, when exposed to the air it had crumbled into dust. "If some few of GOD'S children are excepted, there is this difference only between us and our heathen forefathers, that *we* bear the Christian name," was the statement of the seven earnest Norwegian preachers to Frederic IV. in 1714.* "Believing preaching," said a Schleswig preacher lately,† "occurs in Denmark only sporadically." "Danish superficiality, Danish unbelief, and Danish immorality are now" (he says of his own Schleswig) "engrafted into the land (through Danish clergy and officials).

* In Hengstenberg Ev. KZ. 1843, p. 536; Döllinger Kirche und Kirchen, p. 362, calls them "Bishops."

† In Bruns, Repert. v. 106.

The chief evil is the irreligiousness, transplanted from Denmark to Schleswig, and the demoralisation in its train. Among the Danish clergy religious moral conduct is the exception, not the rule."* "The candidates for the pastorate," it is said,† "simulated orthodoxy up to their examination, and showed themselves decided rationalists in the sermon to be delivered immediately on the ordination." "According to Danish descriptions," adds Döllinger, "the great majority of the clergy there have sunk as completely into the unbelieving neo-theological views as the German Lutheran clergy: they only wavered between a frivolous unbelief and a rationalism with somewhat more scientific show. Now and long since, the Danish clergy are in the main divided into two parties, the rationalist-unbelieving and the followers of Grundtvig."

The Upsal Theological Review, like the Danish writer, proposes "development" as the hoped-for result from closer alliance with Sweden.

"Far from us," it says, "be an union, in which the several Church communities should merge and disappear into one another by giving up all their peculiarities. But that the several

* Petersen, Erlebnisse e. Schleswig. Predigers, p. 337; Frankf. 1856. In Döllinger, p. 869.

† In Bruns, Repert. v. 105; in Döll. p. 866.

Church Communions, *on the basis of their doctrinal Confessions*, according to the unalterable rule of Holy Writ, ought to *develope further* in and for truth;" in other words, starting from different, and in some respects contradictory, confessions of faith, but both developing. A development from different "doctrinal confessions," being an expansion of what each contains in germ, must, of course, be different; as in fact the Church of England and the Lutheran bodies have been developing in different directions hitherto. The conditions, also, of development are different; the Lutherans, "according to the rule of Holy Scripture" alone, *i.e.*, according to what each, in his own individual judgment, conceives to be the mind of Holy Scripture; the Church of England, according to that same rule, but the arbitrariness of the individual mind, swayed, controlled, guided by the consentient tradition of the Church "always, everywhere, by all." We agree in first principles (as has often been pointed out) with the whole Church, both East and West; for both acknowledge the office of genuine and universal tradition determining the sense of Holy Scripture; both appeal to Holy Scripture, as so interpreted. The Lutheran and Calvinistic bodies appeal to Holy Scripture, only as interpreted by themselves.

* In Col. Ch. Chr. 1867, p. 28.

Sweden, it is said, has kept out together theology and rationalism. "They praised," said Liebetrut, "the unity in doctrine, Liturgy, and constitution in Sweden. I thought on the unity and the peace of the grave-heaps." "Where does the Evangelic Church find words for its sorrow over the sickness of her daughters? Is it not as if this sickness were already death; as if the whole Church of Sweden were under the curse? And if we do not believe the former, although we almost fear the latter, we must adjure our Swedish brethren carefully to observe the time of the Divine visitation for their wasted and defunct Church."*

"Religious indifference," says Trottet,† "has gradually abolished the strictness of the old manners; public opinion sanctions and protects in many cases the most revolting immorality. The State Church, unable to keep up society on the descent down which it is sliding, seems even to hasten its fall."

But they too, who are so anxious to see intercommunion with Sweden established, would themselves feel that, to make such intercommunion safe or desirable, something more is required, than the mere fact that a certain body possesses

* Hengst. Ev. KZ. xxxiv., pp. 151, 172.

† A preacher at Stockholm, and pupil of Vinet, in Gelzer Prot. Mon. Bl., 1858, p. 143.

(if it does) an Episcopal succession. They would not themselves wish to see intercommunion established with a Nestorian, Monophysite, or Socinian body, while that body retained its heresy. Yet even on the narrow question of the actual succession, the attention of those who have desired it has been too much confined to its earliest supposed link; whether Petrus Magni (Magnusson) was, as he asserted, consecrated at Rome, or by whom Bothrid was consecrated, of whom Fant says, "a quo fuerat consecratus, prorsus silent."* But, apart from this, the Swedish body has no priests; so that unless a person can be at once consecrated a Bishop, without having been first ordained a Priest, the consecrations are invalid. The words of the consecration itself are chosen to express the Lutheran opinion, that the power to consecrate is derived from the body of the Church, and is not inherent in the Bishop.

1. Although the term "Priesterschaft" is used of the clergy, the office to which persons are ordained (and that, in the vacancy of a see, at times by Deans†) is studiously and repeatedly called "the holy office of preacher." Those ordained are so called and nothing else.‡ The Swedish

* De succ. Canon. Epis. Sueciæ, quoted by Dr. Routh, in Mr. Perceval's "Collection of Papers, &c.," p. 65.

† Schubert, Schweden's Kirchenverfassung, i. 175-185; in Christ. Rem. xiii. 433.

‡ "After Divine service ended, there will be held in this

body has instituted a new order of "preachers," and has omitted the second order, that of "priests." But the invalidity of the consecration to the Episcopate, of any one not already ordained a Priest, is the general conviction of the West.* No details are given as to those who, in the ancient Church, were *elected* to the Episcopate, being deacons or laymen. But we *know* in the case of Photius, A.D. 858, who was so chosen, that he went through all the orders of reader, sub-deacon, deacon, presbyter, on successive days.† This, which was done to

house of the LORD a regular consecration to *the holy office of a preacher.*" (Notice given of the ordination.) "Merciful GOD, loving FATHER, we thank Thee heartily for that Thou through Thy SON JESUS CHRIST hast instituted on the earth *the preacher's office*, and, until now, hast graciously maintained it among us." (Public prayer for "those that shall now take part in this office.") "I, N., who am now called and received to the holy *office of a preacher*" (oath of the candidate). "Almighty GOD strengthen and help you to keep all this. And I, by virtue of those powers which are in GOD'S name intrusted to me by His Church for this business, *deliver unto you herewith the preacher's office*, in the name of the FATHER, &c." (the words said by the Bishops to the candidates generally). After this "the Bishop and *assistentes* array the candidates in the chasubles, and the LORD'S prayer is said over each individually with a general laying on of hands." "After the ordination, the newly ordained clergy receive the titles of order (Prast-bref) in which the Bishop attests their lawful appointment and consecration to *the holy office of a preacher.*" (Christ. Rem. l. c. pp. 433-435).

* "Hoc indubitatum esse video inter omnes." Vazquez in 3 p., Disp. 243; c. 2, p. 771, quoted by Palmer on the Church, ii. 440. Mason (de min. Angl. Dedic. ad Ep. Paris.); and Field (Of the Church, B. i. c. 39) "maintained the same." Palmer *ib.*

† Nicetæ, Paphl. vit. Ignatii. Conc. T. x. p. 703, ed. Col.

prevent his irregular consecration from being disputed, shows that such was at that time the received practice of the Church. There is absolutely nothing to lead us to infer that the practice had ever been otherwise.

2. The words used by the consecrator, after the oath administered to the Bishop elect, are: "GOD strengthen thee, GOD help thee to fulfil all this! And I, by virtue of *that commission which*, in GOD'S name, *His congregation hath given unto me,** *hereby deliver unto thee the King's appointment, and therewith the office of*

* See ab. p. lxvii. Baaz, (L. iii. c. 19) quotes this doctrine from the first Protestant Archbishop. "We assert (against 'the Papists') that this honour does not belong to shavelings and anointed *alone*: yea, as far as they are such, not at all to them; but to all the faithful of CHRIST, and we say that all these are true and lawful priests of the New Testament, to whom the word of GOD and all priestly offices are committed, and that, of GOD. Which we thus prove. Whomsoever GOD, the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, *i. e.*, the whole Trinity, adopts by Baptism among the sons of GOD, He, at the same time, through the incorruptible anointing, viz., the HOLY SPIRIT, makes them lawful and spiritually ordained priests, that (as S. Peter says), 'They may shew forth the virtues of Him Who called them out of darkness into His marvellous light.' Nor can there be had a more lawful and valid ordination.—But since the power of *choosing* belongeth to the Church, *that* is ever lawful and valid which she does in choosing ministers, from whatever *Presbyter or Bishop* those elected shall afterwards receive imposition of hand, so he be faithful and Christian."—(Chr. Rem., *ib.*, pp. 429, 430.) This is genuine Lutheranism. But it could hardly be said more explicitly, that all being alike priests and bishops, and nothing more is done in ordination than to select persons to exercise an office which they, in common with all other Christians, have already.

Bishop in N. diocese, and I put upon thy breast this emblem of JESUS CHRIST [the cross] to be a perpetual remembrance that thou shalt preach His precious word of reconciliation and holily keep the same; and I also deliver unto thee this staff, as a sign of thy right and a remembrance of thy duty, to guide and govern that flock which is committed unto thee. And this I do in the name of the FATHER, &c."* After this† "the consecrator and his 'assistants' take the cope, and array the new Bishop therein, after which they lay their hands on his head,‡ the consecrator saying the LORD'S prayer." How this is to be a valid consecration of a Bishop I know not. I cannot but agree with the reviewer; "the above forms of ordination will necessarily, we imagine, destroy whatever interest any

* In Christ. Rem., xiii, 432.

† *Ib.* 435.

‡ Luther first declaimed against the Roman ordination. His own unvarying statement was: "We are all together consecrated as priests by baptism. Whatever has crawled out of baptism may glory that it is already consecrated Priest, Bishop and Pope, although it beseems not every one to exercise that office" (x. 302 sqq. in Daniel Cod. Lit. ii. 517). Daniel says, that "when Luther saw what confusion of every thing arose, he brought back ordination with many other institutions of the Church, *yet changed and accommodated to the new genius of the Church.*" But Luther guarded himself as to "the laying on of hands," that it was no spiritual act. "We lay our hands on the servants of the Word, and at the same time make our prayer to GOD; but it is to this end, that we thereby testify that it is GOD'S ordinance."—ii. 1972 in Daniel *ib.*

Anglicans may have felt in the Swedish Church as a sister inheritant of Apostolical succession."* With all this it agrees, that no sacerdotal office is left in the Swedish body. Everything corresponds to the substitution of the office of "preacher" for priest. The Sunday services are designated from their chief characteristic—preaching. "On Sunday, in cities, sermons shall be thrice preached."† In the office for the Communion the Lutheran doctrine is delivered in the clear terms of the unaltered Confession of Augsburg; but there is no consecration; the words of Institution are said or sung, as teaching; but "Whatever wine remains is poured back into the vessels, or may be used for ordinary purposes,"‡ as not having been consecrated. "Since 1700, *red* wine is disused, if other can be had,"‡ that it may not even seem to symbolise the Precious Blood. "Absolution" is carefully turned into a declaration, as, of course, upon a general confession there can follow nothing but a vague declaration. "If this your [general] confession of sins is sincere, if there be earnestness in your amendment, and if your faith be true,

* In Christ. Rem., p. 435.

† "'In Städten soll dreymal gepredigt werden,' a word used throughout by Mr. Schubert." Christ. Rem. p. 406. Luther himself called the consecration of a Church "consecration of a new house for the office of preaching the Divine word," 1546. See in Daniel Cod. Liturg. ii. 557.

‡ *Ib.* p. 411—413.

then do I, as a minister of JESUS CHRIST, give you assurance, that GOD, of His grace, for the sake of CHRIST, hath forgiven you all your sins."* This general confession of sins is appointed both before communion and in the visitation of the sick.† Even the shadow of absolution has been removed by the statement, "I give you assurance that GOD *hath* forgiven you." In confirmation there does not seem to be any spiritual act, except the saying the LORD'S prayer, the blessing, and a hymn."‡ In the Baptism of Infants, though not a priestly office, "the sponsors are reminded that the child has, through *the faith of* regeneration, become a child of GOD."§ The Swedish body has even yet retained more of ritual than we; but having lost the succession and the faith of the sacrament (with the power of administering it), it is but an empty show, the casket of a lost jewel. It has substituted in the Apostles' Creed, "the Christian Church" for "the Catholic Church,"‖ and has lost therewith the very idea of Catholicity.

We have had already too sad experience of an attempt to unite externally bodies which internally disagree, in the unhappy Episcopate at Jerusalem (which may GOD bring to an end!) and its most disastrous consequences, both on

* Christ. Rem. p. 411. † *Ib.* p. 420. ‡ *Ib.* pp. 419, 420.
§ *Ib.* p. 414. ‖ *Ib.* p. 423.

those who worked for GOD among us, and on our relations to the Eastern Church. To the Eastern Church it exhibits us as ready to fraternise against her with those whom they have condemned as heretics. In Germany it exhibited us as daughter Churches to the "German Evangelical Church, the mother"* (as the late King of Prussia was pleased to call his father's creation) "of all the Evangelical Confessions." In us, we may trust that, being done in ignorance, it was not sin, since to the English Church it was represented as a means of raising the Lutheran body to our own standard of truth, and of conferring on her a Divine gift which she had not. By GOD'S mercy the proposed scheme became as an untimely birth, existing only as a living death. But GOD has warned us against renewing the attempt. Such an union could not bring fresh life to them, but would be too likely to bring death to us. There might be a show of fraternisation with those who never can be one with us, and a real rent among ourselves; an interlacing with branches of a strange vine, and a splitting in two of our own trunk. We could only confirm them in error by any alliance with them while they retain those errors. We should by this—

* Eichhorn, Prussian Minister of Religious Worship, in the State Gazette, translated by Rev. W. Palmer, Nov. 17, 1841 in "Aids to Reflection, &c.," p. 14.

not concord but disharmony—at once be wanting in the truest charity to them and in faithfulness to GOD, Who protected us from admitting their errors. It is in the interests of true charity that I am sure that they who most intelligently value GOD'S gifts to us, and thankfully adore Him for giving them, and are also best acquainted with the real character of Lutheranism, would with me pray—"May GOD, Who brought to nought the building of the tower of Babel, bring utterly to nought all attempts to connect us with the Scandinavian bodies, so long as they retain the faith-destroying Confession of Augsburg." It was not in any want of charity that the devout and loving Bishop Andrewes prayed "for the Catholic Church, its confirmation and increase; the Eastern, its deliverance and union; the Western, its restoration and pacification; the British, the restoration of things lacking, the confirmation of things remaining in her;"* but that for other bodies he only prays among those scattered or in error: "Gather those who are scattered, bring back those who are gone astray, and join them to Thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church."† Truth can never be contrary to true charity. True charity bids us pray earnestly to our GOD for "the Re-union of

* Preces quotidianæ, p. 80, ed. Ang. Cath. † *Ib.* p. 122.

Christendom." Truth and true charity alike forbid us to disguise the fact, that both Lutheran and Calvinistic confessions have errors, of which we dare not partake; which while they retain, we dare not cast in our lot with them; but therefore pray the more earnestly, that they and "all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of Spirit, the bond of peace and in righteousness of life." O Good Shepherd, Who didst lay down Thy life for Thy sheep, to Thee we plead Thine own prayer; make us all, in what way Thou willest and knowest, visibly too, one fold under Thyself, the One Shepherd. What Thou hast given us to will, do Thou in Thy goodness perform!

E. B. PUSEY.

Christ Church, Feast of St. Mark, 1867.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the above was written, I have seen that two speakers in a meeting of the Anglo-Continental Society have ventured to declare that the act of the Bishop of Illinois in communicating the Archbishop of Upsal "has set the most solemn seal to *our* intercommunion with the Swedish Church."* The Bishop, probably, thought nothing less than that his act should commit the whole English Communion, unless it were repudiated. Since the English Church has in no way committed itself to the acts of the Church in the United States, still less can it be supposed to be compromised by the acts of an individual Bishop. It is painful to revert to a statement which gave pain at the time (because it is true), that the Church of the United States is no pattern for us, since in evil times "she omitted the Athanasian Creed and bracketed the Nicene." But since the claim is made, that the English Church is committed to the act of a single

* Col. Ch. Chron. 1867, p. 169.

American Bishop, and that, because "the Archbishop of Upsal and his suffragans, and the Bishop of Illinois with his chaplain, have, *unchallenged*, given to each other the right hand of fellowship," "the intercommunion of the Swedish and *Anglican* Churches is placed beyond doubt,"* the truth must be spoken. Since the English Church is not committed to the act which excluded the Athanasian Creed from the American Prayer-book, and simultaneously omitted from the 11th Article the recognition that it "ought thoroughly to be received and believed, for" it "may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture;" seeing we are not committed to the act which *allowed* the Nicene Creed also to be omitted (although I understand it is in fact used), or to that which allowed a Bishop to omit the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained," in the Ordination of a Priest; or to that which eliminated the authoritative form of Absolution, and all mention of Confession from the Visitation of the Sick, and those other corresponding words in the Exhortation in the Communion Service

* Col. Ch. Chron. 1867, p. 164. The report of the Anglo-Continental Society, referring to this, says "it will be seen that henceforth the fact of our being in *full* communion with the Church of Sweden is placed beyond question." Rep. 1866, p. 46.

"that by the ministry of GOD'S Word he may receive the benefit of Absolution," much less is she committed to the act of a single Bishop. Rather this Society recalls to our minds what we would fain forget, that there is a very grave difference between the Anglican Church and that of the United States, and that it is very desirable that before any closer union is formed with the Church in the United States, what it has omitted from the Prayerbook should be restored.

The commendatory letter of Archbishop Howley is of so much importance, as shewing the animus with which an Anglican Bishop was sent to Jerusalem, that I reprint it.* The English Church was indeed neither consulted nor implicated in what was the act only of individual Bishops. But the letter shows that even those Bishops would not have concurred in the measure, could they have foreseen how their intentions would have been set at nought.

* I have retranslated Bishop Blomfield's Greek translation of the Archbishop's letter, as being the document actually sent to the Eastern Orthodox Bishops. The original letter of the Archbishop, as well as the translation, were published in a "Statement of Proceedings relating to the establishment of a Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem. Published by authority." They were republished in "The Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland at Jerusalem Considered, by James R. Hope, D.C.L., 1842."

"To our most holy and beloved Brethren in CHRIST, the Bishops and Prelates of the Ancient and Apostolic Churches in Syria and the neighbouring countries, William, by Divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, greeting in the LORD:

"In all earnestness we commend to your goodwill, Venerable and Beloved Brethren, the most godly man, Michael Solomon Alexander, Doctor of Divinity, whom we, having ascertained his discretion and sufficiency, and having judged him meet, have consecrated Bishop of the Church in England and Ireland, according to the canons of the same, our holy and Apostolic Church. And having received power from our august Queen, we have sent him to Jerusalem, having entrusted to him spiritual superintendence over all the clergy and laity of our Church, who sojourn there and in adjacent countries. But that no one may be in ignorance why we have sent this our brother Bishop, we make known to you that we have enjoined him in no wise and in no matter to invade the jurisdiction which belongs to you, the Bishops, and to the rest who are set in authority over the Eastern Churches, but rather to shew to you the honour and reverence due unto you, and to be eager everywhere and in every manner to cultivate diligently whatever promotes brotherly

love, intercourse, and one-mindedness. We are persuaded as to this our Brother, that he will *ex animo*, and for conscience' sake observe these things which we have enjoined him; and we entreat you, in the name of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, to receive him as a brother and afford him all needful help.

"We are persuaded, Brethren, that your All-holinesses will receive kindly this epistle, as attesting our reverence and brotherly love towards you, and the longing desire which is in us, that the laws of that ancient love towards the ancient Churches in the East, which has now been intermitted for many generations, should be renewed; which, if by the will and grace of GOD it be renewed, we trust that the schisms through which the Church of CHRIST has suffered most grievously will be healed.

"Having this hope, and paying all sincere honour to your Holinesses with all reverence, we have set our Archiepiscopal seal to this autograph letter, at Lambeth, November 23, 1841."

ESSAYS ON RE-UNION.

ESSAYS ON RE-UNION.

I.—THE EXIGENCY OF TRUTH.

By THE REV. HENRY HUMBLE, M.A.,
CANON OF ST. NINIAN'S CATHEDRAL, PERTH.

NO one, I suppose, would question the obligation that lies upon a man to act in some way upon known truth the very instant it becomes part of his consciousness; and yet there are persons who do so act, whom we are far from esteeming either wise or morally right. Whether the subject-matter be *worldly policy*, *morals*, or *religion*, no man is emancipated from the necessity of judging how he is to carry his newly-acquired convictions into practice.

Let us first take a case of *worldly policy*, and it shall be historical, as lifting it out of the category of possibilities into that of actual experience. During the great Rebellion a very considerable party who had opposed the exercise of the Royal prerogative as unconstitutional and wrong, and had proved, therefore, the most

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extreme opponents of those measures, became at length convinced that they had not therein acted rightly, seeing that they had helped on a party of whose later actions they could not possibly approve. What was to be done? Were they immediately to change sides, and fight against their former friends on the side of the Cavaliers, whose principles they were convinced now were in the main right? There are extreme moralists who will at once say undoubtedly they ought. More moderate men will believe, however, that they did better in forming a strong Conservative party in the midst of the Republicans. To this party, as is well known, the Restoration was due,—a fact, which had Charles II. borne it more in mind, might have preserved the crown to his dynasty. It is not contended that the line which this party adopted was free from difficulty—no moral question is so. It must have seemed to many among them a dereliction of duty to stand by at the dictates of prudence and policy, whilst those with whom they principally agreed were being borne down for the want of that aid which each individually had it in his power to afford. And when, after his triumph, the tyranny of the usurper had created many dissidents, it might have seemed criminal acquiescence in evil to remain still, especially as one who had a right to their allegiance was calling upon them to dethrone

the usurper and regicide. It can scarcely be said at this day that the party we are describing did wrong. The bloodless revolution which restored the monarchy was, as we know, the result. Thus it cannot surely be contended that the exigency of political truth required on the part of each individual who embraced it immediate individual action in the way which extreme moralists would insist.

But political is not moral truth, much less is it religious, says an objector. Still all truth of what sort or kind soever it be is of GOD: and that one fact alone is sufficient to show that there is no radical distinction in the various kinds of truth. We are not, as it will be seen, speaking of truth in the abstract, but of certain concrete truths, known and acknowledged to be such by any given individual. What is he to do with them when he has got them? No one will contend that all truths are equally important nor that equal necessity lies upon a person to make known a law which he has discovered in physical science, and a vital truth of the Gospel which has been borne in upon his conviction with unusual force. Still all truths must be acted on in their degree, and we must regulate our conduct at all times in reference to them at the risk of incurring the penalties affixed to disregarding them. What we contend is that it by no means follows that

immediate and decisive action is to take place irrespective of other considerations. This we may illustrate by an example of *moral truth.*

No one doubts the moral evil of drunkenness. The strict moralist would say, with the Teetotal Societies, you must abstain altogether from intoxicating drinks, not only you who give way to over-indulgence, but you too who may be so tempted, and who, for the sake of example, are bound to give your moral support to the cause! More moderate moralists will say, granting the moral evils of intoxication to be as great as you say, and expressing our entire conviction of our own responsibilities in regard to it, we yet demur to your measures of repression. However valuable the most of what you say, this is to be balanced by truths no less important and by facts and arguments no less cogent. Lengthened moral discipline is for the advanced, not for the beginner; when the immorality lies in excess of what is permitted we are only bound to contend against the abuse, not against the use: and, seeing that men are what they are, your cutting them off from the opportunity of violating one moral law will inevitably lead to the violation of others equally important. We fail then to find that there is any greater necessity for immediate and decisive action in the case of moral truths than there is in political. Indeed religion itself only professes to be able

to cure grave moral defects by the exercise of much patience and forbearance.

But it is said that *religious truth* differs from all others. It is only acquired by the exercise of a supernatural gift; and a truth given, if not immediately applied and acted on, is withdrawn, never to be again given, except after lengthened repentance and many tears; if even then. This is so far true as it relates to the difficulty of recovery. Gifts not used are withdrawn, and probably the danger is in this case greater than when the gift is purely natural. It may be admitted that we sooner recover from the effects of a mistake in politics and morals, than from one where Religion is concerned; though this is not invariably the case. But so far as the assertion is meant to affirm the need of acting immediately and decisively in a given way it is quite untrue. Religious conviction is of slow growth, and religious action founded on conviction is no less so. The whole history of the Catholic revival in the Anglican Communion is a proof of this truth. We can ourselves remember that twenty years ago we felt the advisability of adopting the legal vestments to give prominence and dignity to the great sacrifice. We have not yet fully seen our way to their revival in our own case. But has the conviction of the advisability of such revival been weakened? On the contrary, it has grown stronger every year, and

is only not now gratified at the call of a higher duty. And this is the case with any other religious practical conviction. There may be a thousand hindrances to its realization. But if there be no stifling of conscience, no cowardice, no voluntary lowering of one's own convictions in regard to it, no religious fault will have been committed; and though we may not ourselves attain to what we should wish, our labours will not be thrown away, and our successors will gain what we have not been counted worthy to see with our own eyes.

It is not denied that there are certain truths so all important, and so absolute, that any hesitation to act on them when once received can only end in their being withdrawn. Such are the Being and Nature of GOD, and the duty thence arising of worshipping Him both in Public and Private. The doctrine of the Trinity too when once received must lead to a very distinct and open opposition to Socinianism. And the Church has given prominence to these master truths by embodying them in Creeds. No one, so far as I am aware, would doubt that there must be an explicit avowal of belief in these Articles on the part of every one who professes to belong to CHRIST'S Church; and that a denial of any one of them constitutes a man *pro tanto* a heretic. But there are many classes of opinions which a man may

hold as deductions from these primary truths, which, however dangerous we may believe them to be, do not amount to formal heresy. Purgatorial fire is one of them, and the whole system of Indulgences; another is Transubstantiation, which to many, when not carefully explained, might seem to be a near approach to the error of the Monophysites. There are very numerous opinions regarding Justification and Grace which are hard to reconcile with the primary truths as stated in the Creed, but which the Church has nevertheless been always very chary of pronouncing heretical.

Further than this there are many absolute truths which are counterbalanced by others equally absolute, and which depend upon circumstances as to whether they are to be considered as rightly or wrongly advanced. Thus S. Augustine opposing the reception of appeals from Africa at Rome, was rightly opposing an admitted abuse; while S. Thomas à Becket, opposing the tyranny of the first of the Plantagenets, and invoking the aid of the spiritual power of the Pope, against the general sentiment of the country, is rightly accounted a martyr.

When, therefore, we are told very generally that a truth when once recognised by us as of Divine obligation is to be acted upon, we admit the necessity of immediate and decisive action

only in the case of those primary truths of which the Church has pronounced that they are primary, by inserting them in the Creeds. But with regard to secondary or deduced truths —or what we believe to be such—we recognise no such obligation; while with regard to a third class, the application of which depends upon circumstances, we maintain that our attitude towards these is for the most part passive; we are rather to be forced into maintaining them by those who oppose them, than bound to court opposition by outwardly proclaiming our principles.

These remarks are perhaps very unpractical, but they are intended to be a general statement of three classes of truths all supposed, by those who hold them, to be of Divine obligation, and which yet exercise a very different effect on the conduct of men in regard to them severally. That there are men who whenever they get hold of what they esteem a truth, rush forthwith into the world and proclaim it defiantly, and in a way which shews them to be utterly regardless of consequences, is of course obvious enough; but we do not consider them to be wise men, but brand them with epithets rash and inconsiderate. In the Catholic revival there have been many such, and they have only not succeeded in marring the work altogether because the cause was of GOD, and therefore

no amount of human indiscretion could do more than simply retard it.

But there are many who cannot in any degree be considered as rash and inconsiderate men, who, under the exigency of controversial argument, would urge a course upon their opponents, which we may be sure they would themselves be the last to adopt if they were placed in the position of those against whom they desire to press their conclusions. There are many who are quite willing to admit the Primacy, or even more, of the Bishop of Rome, who do not therefore see that they are in anywise bound to proclaim their belief to all the world by immediately joining the Roman Communion. Doubtless to many members of the Roman Catholic Church this may seem the logical result, and they will meet all objections grounded on the changed position of the Pope to the rest of Christendom by urging that every practical system must in the nature of things undergo changes in the course of ages. If you accept a kingly government you cannot go back to the conditions of that government a thousand years ago. You must necessarily take it with all the modifications which time has introduced. Assuredly so; and to one within the realm this argument is conclusive. But let us for the sake of example suppose a revolted province making advances to its former sovereign, who

has been unable to reduce it to subjection. It is quite open to it to prescribe the terms on which it will consent to submit. The United States of America, when they had gained their independence, might have proposed to again come under the English crown, on condition that all such exercises of authority as had provoked the rebellion should for the future be pretermitted. The admission that the Pope has by Divine right a primacy of order, and a supremacy in interpreting the Canons and receiving appeals, by no means implies a concession that his present exercise of power is of Divine right. That, for the most part, is a matter of ecclesiastical arrangement, or, at any rate has grown up by the concession of the governed. And though any of those who happen to be under that exercise of supreme power might be running great risks in opposing it *à l'outrance*, still that is not the position of any English Churchman; and therefore, without the aid of much stronger arguments than I have ever yet seen advanced, I should say that his duty lay much more in the line of asking for reasonable concessions than in giving the whole contest up, and at once accepting as of Divine right what he has up to that moment been opposing as wrong. The whole thing depends upon whether we are to regard the Primacy as one of those fundamental truths of Christianity or as one of

those secondary and derivative ones of which I have spoken. We express our belief in One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. And when we come to examine into the nature of that Church, we find within it three orders of ministers holding a Divine commission. From one of those changes which time brings with it, the Diaconate has ceased to be a reality in the West; and I can well imagine any Eastern branch of the Church requiring that the Diaconate should be allowed to be a reality with them, as the condition on which they were willing to come into Communion with the West.

But supposing the enquirer to be no longer an Eastern branch of the Church but a Western Protestant. He finds our LORD instituting a ministry, and before the end of the New Testament he sees this ministry comprising three Orders—Apostles, Elders, Deacons or Ministers. For the significance of these titles he has recourse to Ecclesiastical History. He finds these orders everywhere throughout the Catholic Church from that time to this; sometimes with different names, but always three; and these three bearing the same relation to each other as at the first. The conclusion is inevitable, no Body calling itself a Church and defective in this particular can be part of that body which is One, Catholic, Apostolic and

Holy. Hence his duty to unite himself to such a body becomes at once a duty.

But here a difficulty arises. There are many Episcopal Bodies claiming to be representatives of the Church which are not in communion with each other; he has therefore to make his choice among them. He has recourse as before to the New Testament, and in its pages he finds an apparent prerogative given to S. Peter over the rest. He finds a charge given to him "to feed our LORD'S sheep"—to strengthen his brethren—to bear the keys; whilst his very name indicates his being at the foundation of the superstructure of the Faith, or of the Church which embodies it. He sees in the world a body which claims to have at its head a representative of S. Peter to whom all these privileges were conveyed. But then, at the same time, he sees the present claims, ostensibly founded on the New Testament records, not only not recognised by all other Episcopal Bodies, comprising a very large minority of the Christian World, but actually repudiated; whilst, within the Body itself, he finds anything but unanimity as to the extent of the powers said to be bestowed on the representative of S. Peter. He is therefore again driven to History, and there what does he find? Is there the very slightest resemblance to what he has previously ascertained respecting the three

Orders? It is not too much to say that, beyond the Primacy of Order, there is not one single privilege which has not been fiercely denied all along; while the Ante-Nicene testimony to the claim of the Primacy, which is so singularly strong as regards the three Orders, is here so weak, that Dean Möhler tells us he was very long doubtful about it, and had even decided to deny it. He tells us, moreover, that the whole constitution of the Early Church was such as to make the Primacy appear out of place. In fact the sum of his argument seems to be that the existence of the Primacy is a reason for believing it to be of Divine origin, for there is no other way of accounting for its continuance.

It is not any part of my design to review the subsequent history of the Primacy until it developed into its present very gigantic proportions. That fraud was had recourse to is now freely admitted on all sides; but this seems to afford no more reason for denying the original right than the fraud of Jacob could be supposed to invalidate his claim to the birthright and the blessing, which were prophetically made over to him whilst still a babe in his mother's womb. Bishops, in the West at least, rule almost despotically, contrary to the practice in the Primitive Church, where they never took any important step except with the counsel and aid of their Presbyters; but we should not therefore be justified

in disclaiming their authority: nor can we, as things now are, separate what is truly their's from what has been usurped, unless by internal reform, which is a long and tedious process. It is not therefore any argument against the Roman Supremacy, that it has grown partly by foul means to its present estate, at any rate as affecting the conduct of those inside. Controversialists, therefore, are quite right in urging upon those who profess to belong to their communion the extremest consequences of the Primacy; just as in this country we should be right in urging the Divine rights of a monarchy. If you accept the Roman system you must do so advisedly and thoroughly. But who does not see that this is a very different thing from urging these same rights on a revolted province? No statesman with common sense would have thought of lecturing the revolted colonies in America on the Divine rights of the Crown, however much he might have urged those rights before the outbreak. He would have felt instinctively that when people were looking for the limits of legitimate rights was not the time to put those rights forward in their extremest form. It is said by our Roman brethren, that it is impossible for any outside the Roman Obedience to understand what the Supremacy is. I reply that it is equally impossible for

those inside to estimate the weight of the objections which may be urged against it. It seems to me that when Ultramontanes cite the Scriptures as conclusive—which we know perfectly well have been variously interpreted by the Fathers, and to be not universally received in one sense to the present day, even in the Roman Catholic Church—as though they were guilty of an *ignoratio elenchi*. We know also that passages of the Fathers torn from their context may be made to appear very strong, but which when read in the light of other passages, and of the history of the time and of the occasion of the treatise being written, are very mild indeed. We know that S. Augustine, for instance, wrote very much about S. Peter as the symbol of Unity; but we know also that he was doubtful whether the faith of Peter, or Peter himself, was the Rock on which the Church was built. We know further, that he would not have appeals constantly carried from Africa to Rome, and that he both spoke and acted very decidedly against the Pope who encouraged it. We know also that S. Leo, in regarding the constitution of the Catholic Church as settled at Nice—viz., that every province of the Church be governed by its own Bishops under its own Metropolitan—as being designed to last to the end of the world, virtually condemned the Monarchy of the Church as

established in the eleventh century. We know also that the Universal Episcopate established in Rome after the Eighth General Council, was condemned beforehand by S. Gregory the Great. These are facts, as much as the constant reference to the See of Peter as the Centre of Unity is a fact. And the way to reconcile these facts is, not by ignoring one set of them, but by balancing them. As ordinarily given by Roman Catholic writers, the passages they cite are really only applicable to the case of those within that Church to secure their obedience; they are utterly inapplicable to those beyond their Communion, as laying down the principles of union. When a Roman Catholic sees such passages quoted as Cardinal Patrizi has just cited in favour of the Roman Catholic view of Unity,* he at once recognises in them the spirit of the faith in which he has been educated. But an Anglican reads them as referring to a state of things wonderfully different from that which they are alleged to support. And both are right from their own point of view. A Roman Catholic may not know, but every competently informed English Churchman considers that he ought to know that S. Cyprian, whose "golden" words are cited to end the controversy, was notwithstanding

* Vide his Reply to the Address of certain Anglican clergymen, *Union Review*, pp. 101-5. No. XIX.

his words put out of the Communion of the Roman Church, and possibly even died in that condition, and is nevertheless admitted to be a Saint. That when he writes to Popes he calls them his brethren, thus:—"Cyprian to his brother Cornelius, greeting." Roman Catholics would do well to bear always in mind that every quotation which they make from the Fathers is judged of in quite a different manner by Anglicans from the way in which those of their own Communion regard it. And Anglicans ought certainly always to remember that there is a view of the Unity of the Church with which the Pope is very intimately connected, that is universal in all approved writers from the fourth century downwards.

If, then, we are ever to come together, this can scarcely be by our ignoring what is truly Divine in the Roman system, nor by Rome insisting on our accepting what is only human in it. The accretions have come to assume such a magnitude that they utterly obscure the primitive beginnings of it. And yet these very additions have come to be proposed as the *sine quâ non* of intercommunion. If S. Cyprian could, after Pope S. Stephen had pronounced the restoration of Basilides, declare in an African synod, and carry the synod with him, that restoration to be void, it seems hard that the only terms of our restoration to Unity should be

made dependent upon acknowledging the acts of the Pope as the acts of GOD, even when he pronounces upon matters of fact. Or, to change our example, it seems hard that we should have to acknowledge the monarchy of the Church, which grew up by little and little, partly by assumption, partly by Divine Right, and very greatly by fraudulent documents, to be alone Divine as against the Patriarchal system which was established in the most orderly and regular manner, and by authority of the whole Church. We do not deny the Primacy. Our Bishops, in the time of the first James, allowed that: we do not deny that that Primacy the Pope enjoys as S. Peter's representative and successor, and this is all, as being Divine, which we ought to be compelled, under pain of continued excommunication, to admit.

It is obviously impossible, by mere force of advancing claims which all history tells us are additions to the primitive faith, to induce men to accept them. To the extent to which these claims are extravagant, to that extent a persistence in advancing them will provoke opposition on the one side, just as, on the contrary, a persistence in denial of what we know to be primitive and well-founded must provoke determination—not to say obstinacy—on the other. But surely if each side could be induced to believe that the other is unprejudiced, and that

there is a real and earnest disposition to promote peace, after a quarrel of 300 years, there ought not to be so very much difficulty in attaining to it. I believe that the greatest obstacle of all to peace is mutual distrust of each other's intentions. It does not lie in doctrines; it does not lie in the claims which we think extravagant; it does not lie in practices which those on each side may disapprove in those on the other. It lies in the absence of that charity which thinketh no evil. We make no apology for stating our side of the case strongly, for I am persuaded that the maxim is well-founded, *Veritas est maxima caritas.*

The exigency of Truth is in fact a form of expression which suits well both sides of the case. Wonder has been expressed more than once that those who are willing to admit the Primacy of Rome as of Divine right should not at once submit to the Supremacy of Rome as now exercised. We might quite as reasonably express our surprise that men who are well aware of the recent additions made to the practical system of the Roman Church, in consequence of her exaggerated claims, should not at once quit her communion. If truth demands immediate action on the one side, why should it not equally demand it on the other? In fact theoretical truth and practical truth are very different things. The former we shall find no-

where absolutely realized, except in ALMIGHTY GOD Himself, the Fountain of Truth. When we arrive at it even in the Church, it is still the precious liquor stored in earthen vessels. The infallibility of the Church which is guaranteed as regards doctrine, is not guaranteed as regards practice; and the theoretical truth which is embodied in her Creeds is in its practical application to individuals modified by circumstances as numerous as the units composing the Christian family. Theoretically, the Church demands of each of her members an intelligent belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, and yet how few there are who can give a reasonably clear account of it? It is an article of the Faith to confess the Union of the two Natures, each perfect, in the Person of our Blessed LORD; yet the Church must content herself with a passive acceptance of the doctrine on the part of the great mass of her members; and we may say as much of erroneous beliefs and imperfect beliefs, mistaken inductions, &c. All these must be borne with, and tenderly regarded. No single man can make a perfect induction, and hence action which properly speaking should only follow such an induction is indefinitely various. There need not, therefore, be any surprise either felt or expressed, that men feel themselves bound to act very differently according to their view of their duties, as induced from their own observation of facts.

And admitting that these secondary truths are thus balanced and controlled by other truths and varying circumstances, it must be said that we have relations with the Eastern Church which would render any re-union of ours, irrespective of it, probably very wrong. It will of course at once be said your immediate concern is with your own Patriarch, and with him alone —you have no right or occasion to allude to those who belong to another division of Christendom. Unconsciously, those who uphold the extreme Roman claim here disown it in the act of urging such an objection. The Roman Church does not admit of the Eastern Patriarchates in the sense in which the phrase is here used. If Constantinople is one of the Patriarchates, Rome is another, and thereby ceases to be "the mother and mistress of all Churches." If she be so in truth then is Cardinal Patrizi justified in calling the Orthodox Communion "*schisma Photianum*" in the letter before noticed. And then we too are in precisely the same position, and are free to act with the Easterns, without any consideration of the Pope as our special Patriarch. You must either adopt one position or the other. Either the Patriarchal system is a reality, and Rome's position with respect to Christendom indefensible, or it is not a reality, and therefore we have no duties owing to her as standing in that peculiar relation to us.

To pass by this objection, however, and admitting for argument's sake that our position in the west would seem to render relation with the Western Church more natural, there are several circumstances which must be taken into the account. Our empire in the east and west alike has brought us into close relationship with the Greek Church. Our colonies in America are on the west and north conterminous with those of Russia. In China our missions and those of Russia touch. Besides this, many of our fellow-countrymen have now their residence in Russia, and numerous Russian families reside, and several Russian Priests are exercising their office in England. We are thus, from no seeking of our own, thrown into certain relations with these Eastern Christians. Further than that, the similarity of our position in Christendom — excommunicated and denounced by the largest division of the Christian family — has necessarily produced some community of feeling. Even Count de Maistre, in his now celebrated passage, could recognise the value of the Anglican establishment in this aspect. He saw her in prospect touching with one hand those whom his own Communion could not approach, and with the other, the mother from whose tender embraces she was for a time separated. This passage, which seems now to be almost a sort of

prophecy, will at least prove that a by no means favourably inclined Roman Catholic could appreciate a sort of influence of which we who possess it will be held responsible for the right exercise. It will scarcely do to tell us that we have no other responsibilities than that of immediate and unconditional surrender to Roman claims, when another set of cogent facts demonstrates that we have very palpable duties to those who have more than once shown that they have no distrust of us. ' '

But though we are thus thrown into relation with the Eastern Christians, it is no purpose of mine to take up the defence of their position. I can but say that if one thousand years of rough opposition have produced such small fruits it may be well to consider whether another line of tactics may not be crowned with greater success. A few recruits, and here and there bodies of Uniats who have always a tendency to fall back, a writer or two like M. Pitzipios, are very little to show for such lengthened efforts. Nor, so far as I can see, is there the least alteration in the mode of dealing with the great Eastern Communion on the part of the Roman Authorities. Certainly, branding that large division of the Christian family in an official document with a nickname savours more of controversial heat than of courtly politeness and diplomatic

calmness. We are not wont to attribute to those who act in such entire forgetfulness of the proprieties of intercourse, and of the dignity of the position they occupy, any strong feeling of confidence in the security of their own standing ground. Nor should we, for our parts, refuse to any body of Dissenters the customary forms of address. We should call their ministers "Reverends," although we know that the Ministry itself is void of authority. We are making no concession in using mere courtesy titles, though we should be were we to call them Priests. We are too confident in our own position to think of disputing about such matters. Men in reality give nothing by conceding a title of honour, but they do not avoid offence in withholding it.

However, to pass away from these disagreeable topics, which may seem to savour of fault-finding, I am glad to go on to another question where I shall hope to meet with that amount of agreement which is usually accorded to an honestly-intended tentative argument. It has been said, the Primacy of Rome is not required of any English Churchman to be accepted, as not having been acknowledged by general Councils which the Church in this country recognises. It seems to me though no express acknowledgement has been made in the Councils themselves, the facts which are

stronger than Councils speak concurrently in this direction. A modern writer has said, "from the very first the Roman Pontiff seems possessed himself, as from a living tradition which had thoroughly penetrated the local Roman Church, with a consciousness of some peculiar influence he was to exercise on the whole Church. This consciousness does not show itself here and there in the line of Roman Pontiffs, but one and all, whatever their individual characters, might be, seem to have imbibed it from the atmosphere which they breathed. S. Victor and S. Stephen, S. Innocent, S. Leo the Great and S. Gregory, are quite of one mind here."* Others, it may be admitted, did not so readily allow it; but in course of time it was conceded, and surely not without a Divine intent. The very notion of a Primacy in a Church could only arise after the Church had grown from its small beginnings. There could be no Archbishops till Bishops were multiplied, nor Patriarchs until there were many Provinces. On mere grounds of policy, I can see no reason at all why the Church in bringing her Chief Rulers into a narrower and narrower compass should not at last have agreed to a Monarchy. At the time of the Great Schism the Monarchical idea had got so far into the Church's mind, that the

* Allies's *Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism*, 2nd edit., p. 19.

contest was narrowed into a contention between Old and New Rome. It is scarcely accurate to describe it, as is commonly done, as a division of the four to one. Nor again, is it at all owing to Schism that the Patriarchal system in the East has ceased to be a reality. Russia, Greece, Bulgaria, are all practically beyond the range of Patriarchal interference; whilst the heads at Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem are not much more independent of Constantinople than the titular Patriarchs whom Rome has appointed to those sees are of the Pope. To urge a return to the Patriarchal system is to overlook the teaching of history; and, whilst we do not defend the errors and faults on both sides, one thing is very evident, that if the Popes provoked opposition by advancing claims which the other side would not admit, their fault was at least spiritual; whilst on the other side very much of worldliness mingled with the opposition. Had men listened to the voice of GOD, in place of giving reins to their violent tempers, we can scarcely doubt that Rome would have become a Monarchy by assent of the whole Church. Her own impatience marred it. The addition of the "Filioque" to the Creed in the face of an anathema of a General Council, to which she was herself bound, was a high-handed act which none can really defend. The irritation thus caused gave to the restless Photius the lever he

required to stir up the whole East in support of his unjust claims on Southern Italy, Greece, and Bulgaria. But for that, his appeals to the other Patriarchs would have been all but powerless. That high-handed and indefensible act united them all. Cardinal Patrizi speaks of the Eastern Churches prior to the Schism thus;—"*nondum a debito Apostolicæ Cathedræ obsequio desciverint.*" Did part of their obedience consist in their tamely submitting to an alteration of the Catholic Creed without their assent being asked? In fact, the language is not applicable to the time. It regards the ninth century through the spectacles of the nineteenth.

But whatever the mistakes and sins, the unworthy motives and vain grasping at power, of which there was abundance, there cannot, I think, be a doubt that the Church was gradually becoming a Monarchy before the Schism. It may have been a consciousness of this that induced a restless, ambitious, man like Photius to bestir himself to prevent it at any rate in the case of Rome, and to centre those tendencies on his own See. Vain hope! The Primacy of Rome was given to her certainly not by the Church but by the great Head Himself. Constantinople, called into existence by the temporal power, had its ecclesiastical status regulated by a General Council. And it had nothing

more. Rome was allowed to have the first place under the Patriarchal system, but she had that which no General council could either give or take away. She was constituted to be the strength and support of all other Churches—the centre round which all others should gather. And though she has often, by exaggerating her claims, driven others into opposition, and though the corruptions which have encrusted her keel have arrested the progress of the Bark of S. Peter over the stormy waves of agitated Christendom, yet sooner or later all thoughtful Christian scholars have come to recognise in her more than the mere creation of spiritual ambition or the creature of political combinations.

It is not for a mere Essayist to say how on the one side Rome is to right herself with the rest of Christendom for the many faults by which she has stamped a sense of her injustice, almost universally, on the minds of those who are not of her Communion, nor, on the other hand, how we are to win for her a recognition of her just claims from those who will not listen to a word in her favour. There is one way, and one way only, to accomplish this, and with this directly I have nothing to do. We may use prayers for the graces of charity and humility. If we should ever again become One, the teachings of past history may lead us to expect a repetition of what we have had in times past—

trials to endure from *hauteur*, unlovingness, corruption and sin. These are the ingredients with which all our good things in this world are mixed up, and the Church is not exempt from them. But at any rate, by bearing and forbearing, we are undergoing a necessary discipline for the enjoyment of the perfect rest and union hereafter, which are only to be found in the presence of ALMIGHTY GOD Himself. And this reflection may nerve us for the experiments.

Admitting, then, to the full the Primacy of Rome, and not denying that we might even concede her Supremacy on well defined grounds, so as to obviate past abuses, it may be asked in what position do you put divided Churches? Now surely the exigency of Truth does demand a recognition of facts. Neither the East nor England is as the Nestorians or Jacobites. According to all the theories of Excommunication, the Greek Church and our own ought to have withered away like the barren fig-tree under our LORD'S malediction. But what are the facts? Since the disunion, the East has gained the whole Empire of Russia, and she has retained her hold throughout Turkey under a grinding bondage to which no other Church has ever been exposed, and continued to live and prosper. Africa has been lost to the West, and that not partially but wholly; and the con-

tinued existence of Rome in many Protestant countries of Europe is less prosperous than is that of the Greeks among the Turks. Then the Anglican Church, notwithstanding her unnumbered difficulties, with a government hostile to her Spiritual claims, and encouraging all her enemies, is after three centuries stronger than she ever was—has restored nearly all her parish churches, and has rebuilt many that were in ruins—has beautified her cathedrals, established schools everywhere, planted Bishops, restored her Religious Orders, renewed the Daily Sacrifice, and all this after a ruin so terrible that her foes prophesied her disappearance from off the earth. She has successfully withstood free-thinking; she has freed herself from the dangers of State-blandishments; and stands out boldly demanding for her Master the rights which are His. Somehow, then, the Excommunication which was to have destroyed her has failed of its effect.

Now these facts demand recognition as well as any others. Roman Catholic countries are to their very hearts' core infected with the blight of Infidelity. In this country it has been beaten back, and is at any rate decent. In Italy, France, and even in Belgium, it is blatant and loud-tongued. That it is so is no doing of ours. It used to be said that all the Infidelity of last century abroad had its origin in the

Free-thinking of this country during a previous generation. But the Free-thinking now has not been generated among us, and has in truth got but a slender foothold anywhere between the four seas. We cannot conceive it possible that any Congress in this country should disgrace itself by a proposal to pass a resolution pledging its members to disbelief in the Existence of a GOD. Yet this was actually done at the Congress of Students at Liége last October. I say not this as boasting. GOD forbid! Only we all who profess to love our LORD JESUS' CHRIST have common enemies to encounter and vanquish, much more dangerous than those of our own household; and those who have to carry on the war in common had better unite for the purpose.

Somehow it seems to have been forgotten that neither backsliding Israel nor treacherous Judah were forsaken of GOD, notwithstanding their divisions. Both were punished, and as a nation the Israelites never returned to the Holy Land nor to the unity of worship. Political unity, so necessary for the realisation of all GOD's designs in their favour, was nevertheless dispensed with. Now the excommunications levelled against Constantinople and England were really provoked, not by doctrinal error but by questions of power and prerogative. Therefore, they have not carried with them the effects which excom-

munications in GOD's cause have never yet failed to produce. Pride and self-seeking have been mixed up with the motives in issuing the Bulls, and hence GOD has not ratified them in Heaven. For the Unity of the Church round S. Peter's See is rather a sentiment than a dogma, a sentiment which as time went on was to find a reasonable ground for its existence in the many prerogatives given by our LORD to S. Peter himself, and the meaning of which was only to be seen as the course of events interpreted them. That Churches could exist, and did exist, and flourished, without being animated by this sentiment, is seen in the history of the Ancient British Church, which did so much for Northern Europe. It is remarkable that our LORD never told the rest of the Apostles to obey and submit to S. Peter. All the great things which He said were addressed to the Apostle himself. He did say to *all* the Apostles, "Go teach all nations." He did breathe upon them *all*, and say "Receive ye the HOLY GHOST." He did say to them *all*, "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted." He did command them *all* to celebrate as they had seen Him do. But He did not say to them, or any of them, S. Peter is my vicar and I will that you obey him as you have obeyed Me. He did not say to them, I have given him to strengthen you. He did not say, I have given to Peter the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,

and you are to receive them from his hands. The Church of Rome can have no rights which were not conveyed to S. Peter, through whom she professes to have received them. If it is right for her to say, "I am the mother and mistress of all Churches," it would have been right for S. Peter to have said, "I am the Lord and master of all the Apostles." Can we imagine the Apostle to have said so? "The Elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an Elder, and a witness of the sufferings of CHRIST." Not a word of it here. "Neither as being lords over GOD'S heritage, but being ensamples to the Flock. And when the Chief Shepherd shall appear ye shall receive, &c." Why he is not even the Chief Shepherd! That in fact has come to be treated as a dogma, which the United Church has never taken upon her to define; and a sentiment and loving direction of our LORD'S has in practice been made the hardest and least lovely of His commandments. *Summa rei Christianæ*, says the well-known Bellarmine, of the Supremacy. Where did he learn this? "He gave the Episcopate to S. Peter alone, whole and entire, and then He made the rest partakers of it in union with S. Peter." We look up in astonishment, and ask, Where is the proof of all this, which a modern writer has so confidently assumed. To us it seems shocking to call the

Supremacy the sum of Christianity; and a mere baseless fiction, to assert that all the Apostles did not equally receive the Episcopate entire and unconditioned. Assuredly we do not require a dogma to define our duty to our parents! Why then a dogma here? A father does not tell an erring child, before I will give you the kiss of peace, you shall acknowledge that I am your superior, that you hold everything from me, and that it is of my mercy that I do not banish you to the ends of the earth. Much as we value Reconciliation, every one must see that this way of treating a penitent is not likely to be successful. Obedience is a good thing no doubt, but that which is forced is of no great value. A rupture once made, it will doubtless be difficult to recall the sentiment of trustful affection which once cemented the Christian Family. But if love cannot do it, assertion of authority, and denunciation of the disobedient never will. The breach has been made, and nought but love can cement it.

Meantime let us do nothing to widen the breach. We can scarcely ask a superior to abandon a line of action which he has taken. But we may by our own humility disarm him. We may make him feel by our unaffected confidence in his liberality that it would be out of place to assert what he may consider his

legitimate rights. We may take care that the sin of a divided Christendom can no longer be justly laid at our door. And we may rest assured, whatever dogmatic Christians may say, and however theoretically right they may prove themselves to be, that GOD, Who loves Charity before all things, will bless us and our Church, and will make it a praise upon earth; whilst the other, if it rudely repels us, shall dwindle under the wrath of His displeasure. "He clothed himself with cursing like as with a raiment and it shall come unto him." "He loved not blessing, therefore shall it be far from him." We will not believe that it can be thus with any portion of CHRIST'S Church; and the recent kindly expressions from so many sides assure us that it will not be so with our Roman mother.

II.

THE RE-UNION OF CHRISTENDOM

IN ITS RELATION TO

SCEPTICISM AND INFIDELITY.

By SIR CHARLES L. YOUNG, BART.

"AWAY! away! Thou speakest to me of things which in all my endless life I never found!" Such was Jean Paul Richter's passionate apostrophe to Music; and some such sentiment has doubtless passed through the minds of many when they have endeavoured to concentrate their thoughts upon the Re-union of Christendom. The task seems so hopeless; the way to Re-union so weary: the obstacles in the way so insurmountable; and, to some minds, the positive excellence of the result so doubtful. And so it happens that many good and earnest men turn from it as from a problem too hard, and perhaps, after all, unnecessary to solve. By others it is vehemently urged that speculation on the possibility or probability of Re-union, or contemplation of the ways and means thereto, is unproductive labour, and it

would be far better to lavish time, thought, and energy on the indisputable fact that the religion of JESUS CHRIST must in one shape or another be brought home to the vast masses of the population; and united action on the part of all Christian denominations for this end would present far more tangible and desirable results than the attainment of Re-union, only perhaps, nominal, and very possibly hazardous. Then, too, we are told that Re-union would produce a dead level of thought. All healthy enquiry would be abandoned, reason would shrug its shoulders and hold its peace in the presence of imperious and dominant faith; and the result would be a deep-rooted and poisonous infidelity which would eventually burst forth, and compared with which our present disunited state would be an age of faith indeed. Then, too, we are told that the time has gone by for the possibility of the existence of an united faith. It is worse than hopeless, it is sheer waste of time, to endeavour now-a-days to fetter the restless intellect and energetic mind of reasonable man with creeds and formulæ. The only possible Re-union of Christendom must be on some broad intelligible basis; some universally accepted system of morality. Take, for instance, the two greatest commandments; "Thou shalt love the LORD thy GOD with all thy heart," and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

Here is the only sound foundation of real Unity in belief and morals. Finally, the notion of Re-union is dismissed as a beautiful but unsubstantial vision; a fascinating day-dream, which may find a welcome in the bosom of the enthusiast and the zealot, but attracts merely a moment's thought from the philosopher, and nothing whatever from the man of business.

Such are pretty much the arguments, or rather the foregone conclusions usually put forth by the writers and talkers who claim to represent the practical opinions of the age. They profess to appeal to common sense, and have but little patience with those who are sufficiently infatuated to look upon religion as in any way *mysterious* or at variance with the temper of society. But as the matter of this humble contribution to thoughts upon the Re-union of Christendom is addressed principally to those to whom that Re-union presents something more than a fanciful and visionary form, the writer conceives that it is not his business now to deal with such sceptical objections, but to address himself to those who sincerely believe that a Re-union of dogmatic Christianity is in itself a grand and noble object.

Those who watch with even moderate attention the course that religious controversy is apparently taking, cannot but arrive at the conclusion that the coming struggle must be,

not between Catholicism and Protestantism, but between Catholic doctrine and discipline and some strange negative theology; a mixture, perhaps, of æstheticism and transcendentalism, within the limits of which disciples of other teachers besides JESUS may find matter for a common creed. There is a spirit of discontent and disbelief abroad which threatens to shake the foundations of Christianity. It sweeps away with inexorable hand those feeble oppositions which a would-be dogmatic Protestantism attempts to offer. It does not openly deride the Faith or Person of JESUS. It professes to respect CHRIST as a great performer. It does not as yet coerce or persecute the disciples of the Cross; it has learned to use far more deadly weapons. For such it has the smile of compassion, the delicate pleasantry, the half-concealed irony, the kind concession to a less-informed or more impressionable mind; the apparent willingness to abide by the evidence adduced; a fair appearance of honesty of purpose; and the ready phrase, that "Truth is great and will prevail." Already eloquent voices have gone forth denouncing Christianity as cruel and narrow-minded and unjust towards GOD and nature. Already profound thinkers and earnest hearts disavow their belief in the miracles of the Gospel, and rank the Man of Nazareth with Socrates and Plato, and honour Him only as the moralist and philanthropist.

Others, again, there are who subvert the Christian theories of self-abasement and self-humiliation and hatred of the world, and declare that GOD, by the voice of nature, bids man enjoy the beauties by which he is surrounded, and be happy and content in the sweet affections humanity affords him. Strong intellects denounce Christianity as eminently selfish, in that it strives to persuade every man to save his own soul and win a lofty throne in Heaven, while the religion they propose animates man solely with the desire to benefit his species, and bids him not to look beyond the grave, but to occupy himself ever with the great realities which exist around him; and when his last hour approaches to sink into the arms of death with calm faith in the goodness of his all-benevolent CREATOR. Men are beginning to lose all confidence in the virtue or necessity of any form of faith, and to accept as an indisputable principle that it is by their actions that they must stand or fall.

The question, then, for Catholics to consider is, whether it is, or is not, worth while to seek in corporate Re-union a stronger safeguard against what they are bound to regard as a great danger to the faith. No part of the Church has escaped the fatal touch of scepticism; no part is free from the attempt by sacrilegious hands to tear aside the veil that hangs around the Christian Mysteries. The

very word "mystery" is scouted as unfit to be used in the presence of majestic Reason. The priesthood is nothing better or worse than a moral police force, more or less useful in repressing or elevating the uneducated and superstitious poor. Eternal torments constitute a machinery available for frightening silly women and children—men can afford to smile at such notions. Sacraments are simply gross impositions, and Christendom re-united on a doctrinal basis a delusion and a dream. Can Catholics, then, hesitate to declare that Reunion is something more than a dream, that it is a duty? It is a positive duty to seek to restore to Christendom something of its long-lost symmetry. All out of shape and harmony, the Christian Church wanders up and down the habitable globe and speaks to all mankind. But she speaks in vain to the believers in the old religions. She makes a hardly traceable impression upon the worshippers of Brahma and Vishnu or the disciples of Confucius. She speaks to them of peace, and they see that there is no peace. She tells them of her One Lord, her One Faith, her One Baptism, but only succeeds in calling up a smile of scorn upon the unbeliever's face as he turns his eyes significantly upon the Christian temples wherein to all appearances different Gods are worshipped — different sacrifices are offered —

different Gospels preached — different faiths confessed. But it is not alone in her missionary capacity abroad that dis-union has rendered the Church so comparatively powerless for good; we see its evils here at home in our midst. The divided aspect of the Christian Church, its controversies and conflicting opinions on matters of doctrine and discipline, its schisms, and alas! its petty jealousies and animosities, contribute in a startling degree to the prevailing disbelief in the great mysteries of the Faith. In the hot contest of a fratricidal war parties and schools in the Church are blind to the fact that their watch-words, their emblems, their shibboleths, are alienating further and further from the cradle of the Holy Child vast masses of those who name the Name of CHRIST. "See how these Christians love one another," is a remark one is scarcely likely to hear now-a-days; and a popular periodical, a representative of Broad Churchism, has recently observed that the malignity of Christendom exceeds anything of the sort in heathenism. And is it not further true that there are many sincere and pious hearts which love their Church devotedly and are deeply pained at her internal dissensions and distractions, but are unable to bear the roar of conflicting schools and the weariness of continual controversy, and at last begin to doubt, it may be, if the Church be so

divine an institution after all? Re-union—can it be doubted? it is the bounden duty of the Church to strive and pray for; not only for the sake of those who call her Mother, but for the whole human race for which the Redeemer shed His Most Precious Blood.

But then steps in that noble element, common sense. How can any man, asks that estimable quality, dream that the Church of England could ever in any corporate or tangible shape submit to any sort of Pope, be he at Rome or at Constantinople? Well, it is difficult to imagine when put in that way, I grant. But look at the question in another light, and the difficulty vanishes. I confess I, for one, would rather have a Pope elected of the Church than a Pope self-elected, or elected by a noisy few. I would rather submit to a Patriarch of the West, or even to such a Patriarch of the British Isles as existed eight or nine hundred years ago, than to the secretary of the Protestant Alliance or to those self-constituted popes who rule at Manchester, at Liverpool, at Birkenhead, and elsewhere. The right of private judgment is somewhat loudly claimed by the ordinary British Christian, and I have no desire to interfere with him: but I must claim—equally loudly if it must be—a like immunity for myself. Such gentlemen are very fond of saying that it is the spirit of Anti-Christ to recognize a Pope; surely it must

be six times as bad to recognize half-a-dozen popes. The English system of government culminates in a constitutional monarchy: why should not the Church be under analogous limitations? Self-government may be a good thing in its way; but it is not impossible that centralization may be a better. In the present ritualistic controversy in the Church of England, the intention of the Acts of Uniformity is much insisted on by both parties. But what are, and what have been for a long time, the actual patent, undeniable facts? Why almost every parish church has, and has had, its peculiar "use." Talk of the uses of Sarum, Bangor, Hereford, and York! I am inclined to think that Edward VI., and his Convocation would stare if they could see the dissimilarity of "use" that exists in even one diocese now-a-days. And what does all this prove? I am not for a moment saying that everybody ought to think alike and do alike, and that we should all run in a well-intricated groove; but I am obliged to think that the Church presents a very much more republican aspect than the State. And then comes the question, is she the better for being so? Is it to her advantage and to the advantage of the Faith of JESUS CHRIST, that her aspect in England should be so Protean? And here I would speak not only to those with whom it is my privilege to be in full communion,

but to those who hold aloof from the Ancient English Church and cling to communion with the Pope as necessary to everlasting salvation. I do not say that we are right and they are wrong in the theories we respectively hold; but I would affectionately urge that it is worth something more than a mere passing consideration whether visible and corporate Re-union be, or be not, of absolute advantage to the Church of CHRIST. It is indeed sad to contemplate the fact that there exists a Bishop of London who can take no judicial cognisance of an Archbishop of Westminster, and that that Archbishop of Westminster knows nothing of an Archbishop of Canterbury; that there should be an Archbishop of York who is canonically and legally ignorant of a Bishop of Hexham; that beneath the very shadow of York Minster there should raise its head a fabric wherein the worshippers are taught to believe that the worshippers in the minster are without the pale of the Church, though both adore the same HOLY TRINITY; both recite the same creeds; both baptize with the same Baptism; both celebrate substantially the same Eucharist; both have Apostolic order and succession; both rely for salvation upon the One Sacrifice; both hope for the same Heaven; both dread the same Hell. What is it, then, that keeps these two bodies so inexorably apart? As a matter of fact, no-

thing but different opinions as to Church government and discipline, and unchristian prejudices on both sides. It is useless for the Anglo-Catholic to urge as his excuse that "vast practical system" of Mariolatry, &c., of which we have heard so much lately; it is equally useless for the Roman Catholic to urge the Protestant abuses and misbeliefs which have eaten their way into the faith of many English Churchmen. You may as well urge that Christianity itself is false because there are so many theoretical and practical unbelievers. The Church of Rome is no more responsible for the positively dangerous exaggerations of some of her pious teachers and writers than the Church of England is for the repulsive doctrines taught by many of her priests, or the Gospel of JESUS CHRIST for the historical eccentricities, to use no stronger term, of Strauss, Renan, or Colenso.

Then consider the position of the Holy Eastern Church. Why is it that she stands apart, Catholic to the backbone as she is, in solemn isolation from the rest of Christendom? What is the real reason of such a position? It is hard to say. The *Filioque* has a good deal to do with it: national peculiarities still more; and last, though not least, the claims of the Roman Pontiff upon her obedience. Yet—*pace* the Ultramontanes — this, too, seems much more a question of Church discipline than

of Church doctrine; for in these days of "explanations," surely the difficulty as to *Filioque* may be provided for satisfactorily; the increasing commerce and spread of more liberal notions in the East will fast reduce the second obstacle; and the last is surely not such an obstruction as may not, with the aid of the Holy Ghost, be sooner or later smoothed away.

But there are a great many good people who come forward and say, I agree with you that the Re-union of Christendom is a most desirable object to have in view, and the attainment of that object we all, who call ourselves Christians, ought earnestly to seek; but when you talk of the Re-union of Christendom you mean intercommunion between the Eastern, Roman, and Anglican portions of the Christian Family. How, in the face of facts, can you call that, should it be arrived at, the Re-union of Christendom? Do you mean to take no notice of all the Protestant societies which exist? On your own theories, every person who has been baptized with proper matter is an inheritor of the Kingdom of CHRIST, though he may afterwards by the exercise of his own free-will, elect to be separated from what you call the Catholic Church. Surely, such an one deserves something of your consideration! To which I reply: My friend, I fully admit the force of your argument. But I venture to

submit that the chiefest step towards the Re-union of Christendom will be gained when the Catholic Church shall present an objectively united aspect. That great feat accomplished, I do not think that there will be much difficulty in persuading all those who hold any form of dogmatic Christianity to join the then truly universal Church. There needs no ghost come from the grave to tell us that.

Dogmatic Christianity! There will be not much difficulty there. It is the *non*-dogmatic Christianity that regards with comfortable contempt the notion of a re-united Faith. The Protestant whose constant cry is, "The Bible and the Bible only!" little thinks that he is found to be in fact at one with those who softly say, "The Biblical poems and rhapsodies —with these we are content!" Yet so it is. Both deny the authoritative voice of the Holy Ghost speaking through the Church, though they confess some belief in an abstract grace of GOD, gotten they know not how. For them there are no Sacraments—for them no outward means; all depends upon some undefinable spiritual perception; some innate faculty which when analysed seems nothing more or less than sentiment.

The age in which we live does not, however, on the whole object to religion, it rather patronizes it, indeed; and a certain amount of,

religion, more or less real, is a necessary ingredient in ordinary respectability. But it does decidedly object to all authoritative and dogmatic religion and its uncomfortable alternatives. Society catches eagerly at the tempting straws held out, and declines to believe that the word Eternal means what it is ordinarily supposed to mean, but something else; or, I believe, the correct formula is: "Everlasting does not mean lasting for ever." This construction, oddly enough, is limited to propositions wherein the word "eternal" is used to qualify the word "punishment." And even this ugly word "punishment" is capable of wearing a not altogether unpleasing aspect under the skilful manipulations of some of the new confessors of the Christian Faith. It of course provokes a smile of compassion upon the face of modern intelligence, if material pain or fire are spoken of in connection with the notion of Hell. Hell now-a-days, simply means "not Heaven." People who have had the misfortune to misbehave themselves in their sublunary career ought very properly to be deprived for a longer or shorter period of the full enjoyment awaiting their more fortunate and circumspect brethren. But it will all come right in the end—"all, both small and great, shall find a refuge in the bosom of the Universal Parent." It might certainly be

objected that so Lucifer himself might eventually come to a sense of his iniquities, and after having been "bound a thousand years" might, as an offspring of the Universal Parent, regain Paradise as well as Adam, but that we are told that Adam is merely an allegorical personage, and in common with the Mosaic cosmogony, we must regard him "as the speculation of some Hebrew Descartes or Newton;" and as for the Devil, his personality has long since faded from its place in modern theology. It has been well observed that the greatest triumph of Satan in modern times is that he has persuaded people to disbelieve in him altogether.

The trials of the Faith consist not now in the stake or any physical persecution. The enemies of the Cross of CHRIST have a subtler and more refined method of dealing with those who would tread the path of Calvary. They offer a bed of roses in place of a Crown of Thorns; they suggest that wealth should be eagerly sought for as placing great acts of humanity and kindness within the grasp of the benevolent; they urge that man is in truth a noble creature, and noble paraphernalia are far more fitting for him than any robe of scorn however purple; they assert that to endure mockings and revilings without a murmur is to mistake the purpose of life, and the times in which the Deity has thought fit to place us; in fine they whisper,

alluringly, "That GOD, through nature, commands man to lead a happy life," and that he should "regard this earth as the appointed Sphere of his chief thoughts, exertions, and interests."

Nay, more than this. There is confessedly abroad among the Churches a desire for unity in external communion, but there is also abroad a specious spirit of comprehensiveness which, while it is prepared to tolerate the followers of CHRIST, will not reject the followers of Mahomet or Swedenborg. Beautiful, and unquestionably sincere, is the yearning to see the theologies of the world meet and blend upon some common ground; but so long as any dogmatic belief exists, such a blending is simply and absolutely impossible except through the Catholic Church. The great doctrine of the Incarnation of the GOD-MAN, JESUS CHRIST, with all its results, past, present, and to come, is the one foundation upon which unity in dogmatic Christianity can hope to rest itself. Undogmatic religion can base itself only upon varied theories as to the attainment of the greatest happiness of the greatest number; not, be it observed in the next life, but in this. And thus writes one who would re-unite the religious differences of the world in some vague scheme of vaguer Theism.

"Behold, then, religion and philosophy unite;

they blend into one serene form, delightful to both the intellect and the heart. Christianity, throwing off the contracted look of superstition and exclusive saintship, issues from cathedrals and conventicles, and learns to walk in academic groves and gardens, with free unbending air, and in courteous equality with all mankind. Shades of Athenian sages! receive, at length, with friendly arms, your ally of Nazareth. Reason, after eighteen centuries of labour, has prepared you all to meet each other. Go forth with him into Nature's vast Lyceum in friendly communion, instructing, correcting, ennobling each other. Let his devotional nature shed upon your researches that high and holy hue which was wanting to render philosophy omnipotent over men's affections as well as their understandings; the recognition of the soul of the world as a principle bearing close relationship to man's heart, and beaming forth through all material things to the intellectual eye. Let his benign spirit dissolve your proud contempt for the crowd and dispose you to throw open your philosophic stores to all your brethren of mankind. And he, in his turn, will hear all that you can tell, gathered by deep thought and patient industry from the history of nature and of man, nor refuse to search further with you into the elder universal scripture for all that may reveal GOD and benefit man."

"*These latter ages realise the vision*".*

Thoughts such as the foregoing are not confined to the individual who has publicly expressed them. They have leavened, more than most men like to acknowledge, the whole of modern religious speculations.

"When the Son of Man cometh shall He find [the] Faith upon the earth?" Let the riven Church of CHRIST take these words of her Bishop of bishops to her heart, and she will indeed find in them matter for her most serious consideration. She believes, with good reason, that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against her, but that promise cannot free her from her vast responsibility. Amidst her internal divisions, her subtle controversies, her warfare with herself, she seems to forget how comparatively few there are in the world who have been baptized with the baptism of Jesus. Where is now the zeal of Xavier or the chaste humility of S. Carlo Borromeo? Comfort and complacency have smothered the one; luxury and pride of intellect have suffocated the other. And here in England, once the land of saints, what is the form assumed by the Christian Faith? Jerusalem may be built as a city that is at unity with itself, but the perversity of priests and people has long since marred its beauty and made sad discord where all should be harmony

* Christian Theism. By Charles C. Hennell. P. 54.

and peace. Cannot the unnatural excrescences on all sides be removed? Cannot the miseries and wrongs of three centuries ago be forgotten or at least forgiven? Cannot Anglican and Roman meet upon the ground occupied by Anselm, Augustine, and Bede? Cannot the Anglican see that his insularity is narrow and selfish? Cannot the Anglo-Roman allow that it is unnecessary to travel so far south to obtain a needless epithet? And may not both stretch out their hands to the distant East, and, acknowledging a common brotherhood, infuse into the Orthodox Church something of the life and vigour of the long-separated West?

"That they may all be One!" Ah, who shall dare to say that amidst the throes of His most awful Passion the foreknowledge of the terrible divisions yet to come among those who named His Name, worked not a fearful Agony in the Sacred Heart of JESUS? That Passion is not a thing of eighteen centuries ago—it exists to-day. Behind the veil, our High Priest pleads His Sacred Wounds. Let us, then, to His Holy Prayer answer with one accord, "Amen."

Let me in conclusion quote those words of warning uttered long since in the *Lyra Apostolica*:—

"Is there no sound about our Altars heard,
Of gliding forms that long have watched in vain

For slumbering discipline to break her chain,
And aim the bolt by Theodosius feared?
'Let us depart;' these English souls have seared,
Who for one grasp of perishable gold
Would brave the curse by holy men of old
Laid on the robbers of the shrines they reared;
Who shout for joy to see the ruffian band
Come to reform where ne'er they came to pray,
E'en where, unbidden, Seraphs never trod.
Let us depart, and leave the apostate land
To meet the rising whirlwind as she may,
Without her guardian Angels and her God."

III.

PRESENT PROSPECTS OF RE-UNION.

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THE question of the Visible Re-union of Christendom is one which can no longer be ignored. It is brought too prominently forward by notices in leading periodicals to escape the attention even of the worldly and careless. It will ere long become one not for divines in their studies and theological recluses but for councils and cabinets. Our great work will be to guide it into its proper channel. For as, on the one hand, a cowardly shrinking from the responsibility of its guidance will too surely betray repugnance or fear, so, on the other, a too great impetuosity will imperil its progress by the temptation to sacrifice Truth on the Shrine of Unity.

As to the duty and blessing of Visible Unity, who can read our LORD's Own words in S. John's Gospel without having their truth burnt into the

soul, and without realizing that the universal failure in the conversion of heathen, whether abroad or at home, is mainly owing to our wilful neglect of CHRIST'S dying prayer for Unity; "I in them, and THOU in ME, that they may be made perfect in ONE; and that the world may know that THOU hast sent ME;" and again, "That they also may be One in US: that the world may believe that THOU hast sent ME." The first blessed fruit of such prayer we find in Acts iii.: "And the multitude of them that believed were of *one heart and one soul;*" "and all that believed *were together* . . . had all things *common*," &c. The exhibition of such loving union joined to S. Peter's sermon won as many as 3,000 souls to the Church; its absence hinders the growth of CHRIST'S Church in the world. How can unbelievers be attracted to a society whose title deeds are inscribed with the word *Unity*, but whose practice is *division?*

"Is CHRIST divided?" was a question early put to Christians, set in the same key with their Divine Founder's "Who made Me a divider over you?" The results of such division cause men to turn away with infinite repugnance, saying "See how these Christians hate one another!" instead of these blessed words on their lips, as of old, "See how these Christians love one another!" Now if we look around us what do

we see? Instead of Christian Unity throughout the world, we see schism everywhere rampant: CHRIST'S seamless robe rent into a thousand shreds. The great holy Eastern Church separated from the Western; this latter, by unreasonable claims, causing a general disintegration of the Christian family; her daughter Churches again split up into the local fragments of isolated National Churches; no coherence; no common bond of union; some openly hostile, others looking suspiciously askance! The natural result — for instead of Peace and Charity, the peculiar marks of CHRIST'S followers—we see unrest, hate, jealousy, uncharitableness everywhere throwing out their noxious roots.

Where, it will be said, is the remedy for such a deep-seated evil? The remedy is threefold; (1) the cultivation of a spirit of charitableness and forbearance towards opponents, on whichever side they be, whether on that of Rome or Geneva; (2) active co-operation in plans for construction of Visible Unity; joined to (3) earnest continuous Prayer for Unity.

The view cannot for a moment be tolerated (*pace* the Duke of Argyle) that we are to make up our minds to a normal state of division *en permanance* in Christendom! that we are to take no steps towards removing the evil, and if possible re-uniting outwardly those who have

nevertheless the same *one inward life;* gathering up into one those shattered fragments, that the world may be convinced of the mission of the GOD-MAN. "We have seen," are the words of one lately gone to his rest, "no good, and are likely to see no good from hasty, premature efforts; but we may each work towards it by trying to realize the depth of this last prayer of our dear LORD, 'that they may all be one:' by witnessing to the truth of keeping the Unity of the Spirit as the ground of Peace towards others, whether of the same Communion or not . . . Granted that we could not all at once unite with our brethren of neighbouring foreign Churches, such as the Church of Rome, because as at present advised the Papal Chair would require us to consent to claims and doctrines on which we cannot exactly agree with them. Granted that with our brethren of the Greek Church we should have to overcome prejudices and suspicions which have been engrained in theirs and their fathers' minds for long centuries: granted that with Protestant Societies abroad in their present state we could form no outward Union that would not disorganize our own Church; granted that any attempt at once to satisfy our Dissenting friends at home would only end in confusion and disparagement of the truth, nay in greater disunion still; granted all this—yet still this is

no reason why we should not mourn over it and pray for a remedy, and keep a hope of better things constantly in view for present consolation and for future remedy. And though the general remedy for the whole outward evil, being as it is the growth of centuries, is impossible at once, yet to each one the evil may be very much lightened by constantly bearing in mind this truth, (never to be forgotten in GOD'S works,) *that the good is deeper than the evil;* that the good is the *foundation* and *root* of things, the evil is an *after-growth*.. The good is the eternal purpose of GOD, the evil the self-will of creatures."

We may sometimes think the part taken by ourselves, as individuals, of little importance in the general affairs of Churches, yet we must ever bear in mind that public opinion is the result in the aggregate of private opinions in many individuals. Public opinion consists in many private opinions drawn into one focus; it is obvious therefore that every charitable thought towards other Communions entertained by private persons will in time be reproduced, and go to form a purer public opinion as between Church and Church. The cultivation, then, of a spirit of charity, of forbearance, towards other Communions, is one step towards a remedy.

There are many men who are half if not

quite sceptical as to the practicability of any scheme of Re-union of Christendom. They point to the utter, hopeless confusion of jarring religious elements among us, and the thought of all this elemental strife being reduced to peace and concord only bewilders them. But He Who said to the wild winds and waves, "Peace, be still," is, Himself overruling all this religious strife to His Own glory and will overrule it in His Own good time. Whether the present *is* His time remains to be seen.

Hitherto all attempts have failed for some reason or other; most probably for this one that *His* time was not yet come. Neither was the Christian world fitted for so great a blessing: it did not sufficiently realize the wretchedness of a state of formal permanent disunion, nor the inestimable blessing of Unity. Now, on the contrary, there seems to be a wide-spread realization of both. Therefore "man's necessity is GOD'S opportunity."

History is not without instances of such attempts: some failing owing to political elements being involved, others for what may be called providential hindrances. The first and last great attempt at the Re-union of Christendom, at the Council of Florence, went off because worldly policy and not religious feeling was the motive power: the fate of the Christian world actually depended on the speed

of two galleys, which should arrive first in the waters of the Bosphorus! Since that abortive attempt, the aim of Rome seems to have been absorption of the Eastern Church into her own Communion, by a gradual system of Proselytism; by the formation of a Uniat Church, and the concession to its members of the use of their own Liturgies, and customs on a bare acknowledgment of the Papal claim, and Supremacy.

The only move towards the Eastern on the part of the English Church was the scheme propounded by the non-juring bishops to the Russo-Greek Church, strangled at its birth by the death of the Czar Peter. Archdeacon Basire, in his travels in the East, being a man of Catholic mind, fraternized with the Greek Church, and was duly appreciated by her Bishops, but nothing came of it towards Re-union. Deacon Palmer, in our own day, in his attempt in the same direction could get no further than to embroil the Russian with the Constantinopolitan Church on the question of rebaptization of Westerns; their practices being diverse. The admission to Communion of an English priest in the Church of Servia, held up to ridicule because feared by some Roman Catholics, and treated rather too curtly (not to say snubbed) by Prince Orloff at a late meeting in London to consider the question of Re-union with the

Greek Church, may be looked upon yet rather as a little cloud rising out of the sea no bigger than a man's hand, which in time, however, will cover the whole horizon. The letter of Prince Orloff, lately published in the *Times*, (though perhaps a garbled copy,) is important, for this reason,—that it asserted the willingness of the Archbishop of Canterbury to send two of his suffragan Bishops of Russia, as a kind of "*legates à latere*," to concert measures with the authorities both in Church and State. This move, though the pear is not yet ripe, is full of promise.

Similar attempts have been made, few, however, and far between, towards accommodation with Rome on the basis of the Gallican liberties, such as the celebrated one between Du Pin and Archbishop Wake, a century or so ago. Later still we have Bishop Barrington's praiseworthy move towards a concordat between England and Rome; who, after classifying religionists under three heads—Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Socinians—ardently desired that the two first should unite in opposition to the last. This voice from the north was re-echoed by one from the south by Mr. Wix, who closed his address with these emphatic words, that "a conference between Rome and England, now that the heat of the Reformation was in a great degree subsided,

might under Almighty blessing given to fervent prayer, be the happy means of leading to the renunciation of error, and of bringing about a Christian Union, which might restrain the alarming progress of that unscriptural variety of opinion which prevails to the great injury of our common religion." As late as the year 1824 even, we find a Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin writing to the Earl of Ripon, then Chancellor of the Exchequer (happy omen!) to the effect that "the union of the Churches which you have had the singular merit of suggesting to the Commons of the United Kingdom would together and at once effect a total change in the minds of men."

Instead of the question resolving itself into anything like a Concordat, however, towards Re-union, we know that affairs then took a different turn, and after forty years of contest the Roman Catholic claims in this country were conceded at length by the Emancipation Bill of 1829; and by the tacit acknowledgement in our day of its ecclesiastical complement *Tract* 90; for though *No.* 90 was burked at its first birth in 1841 it has risen again from its ashes under the tender manipulation of Dr. Pusey in his world-wide and loving *Eirenicon*. Its second birth has found the feeling of the Church of England more prepared for its

acceptance; and it will now no doubt be a stand-point, a vantage-ground so to say, upon which ulterior measures will be taken in the same direction.

From this rapid resumé we may come to the conclusion that, notwithstanding some signs to the contrary, the times, as far as regards this country at least, are infinitely more ready and prepared for the ventilation of this great question than at any other period of its history. Whether the ground is sufficiently prepared on the Roman side for Re-union admits of much doubt.

Years ago, humanly speaking, before Ultramontanism had pervaded the ecclesiastical atmosphere, when Gallicanism was more flourishing than it is now, a Concordat would have had a better chance. As long, however, as the tide sets in as strongly as it does in favour of the former, one's heart faints at the contemplation of the fate of a Re-union movement. What hope can there be, when on the Roman side corporate Re-union must mean none other than unconditional corporate submission? Ultramontane Rome will take everything, yield nothing. What hope, whilst infallibility is held to be not in the Catholic Church but in the Papal Chair? This at once cuts away the ground from under us. As long, then, as the temporal power of the Papacy lingers the

power and the policy of the Roman Curia will remain, and that must be Ultramontane, and farewell to corporate Re-union!

Such being the case the best chance for success lies in the destruction of the temporal power; then the Pope will fall back on his spiritual *status* as Bishop of Rome. National Churches, whilst conceding a primacy, will be very jealous, like that giant of old, Hincmar of Rheims, of their independence; due prominence will be given to Diocesan and Provincial Synods; and an Œcumenical Council will be the voice, not of a single pope, but like that of Constance, of the Church itself. Hence, it appears to me, is the great value of that wonderful *Eirenicon:* Not only that it places before us at home our duty in the clearest terms, and in general ventilates the question, but that it will act as a spur to stimulate the dormant energies of Gallicanism. A Re-union on the principles of Bossuet and Gallicanism has even been accepted by a leading Roman organ, the *Weekly Register,* as better than perpetual schism. But to carry that point, Gallicanism must be aroused on the Continent. It becomes a deeply interesting question what the great Emperor of the French may be revolving in his mind! whether to throw the weight of his influence into the Gallican scale, to acquiesce in the fact of Ultramontanism, or to be like even greater men before

him, a waiter on events! If the *Eirenicon* has no other result than to act as a fillip on slumbering Gallicanism, it will not have been written in vain.

Such being the difficulty in the way of Re-union with Ultramontane Rome one could almost have wished that the Eastern face of the movement had been presented to us at first, until the country had got a little more used to the unwonted idea. It is natural, of course, being children of the West, to turn our gaze wistfully to our own spiritual Mother first. Still, humanly speaking, we cannot help thinking that Re-union with the venerable Eastern Church would be the better policy, and afford a better chance of success.

Though Eastern religious practices are very different from our own, yet in general, with one exception, our doctrines would not be found on examination to be so; then we have had no rupture with the Eastern Church as we have had with the Western; we are only estranged, as being part and parcel of the Western Church which was involved in the great schism in the ninth century: in fact we only want to develope our Prayer Book to its Catholic extent, and there would be very little to keep us apart. Then consider the great moral support such a Concordat would give to us in our negociations with Rome! No longer isolated from the

Catholic family, but (like a bride married clandestinely into a noble family) at length acknowledged and appreciated. Even now the knowledge that Anglicans are looking Eastwards, and are not likely, at least in the Russian branch, to be repulsed, will serve to quicken the feelings of true Catholics in the Roman Church towards us both as sympathisers, and as being unwilling to forego the moral support which a really united Christendom might give to themselves also in their coming conflict with Infidelity within their own borders.

(I have purposely avoided dwelling upon one point, and that a fundamental one towards bringing about Visible Unity, and that is the force of Prayer, as being more fitted for the pulpit, than an essay.) But who can fail to connect the wonderful outpouring of the spirit of Re-union upon people in these latter days with the work of Prayer and Eucharistic Sacrifice, which has been going on these years as well by Christians generally as by those thousands, whether Romans, Greeks, Anglicans, who are banded together for the express purpose of besieging GOD with their prayers for Unity until their end in GOD'S good time shall be accomplished? GOD will hear such importunate prayer, and will grant it because of its very importunity.

A word or two on the chief benefits likely to result from the Re-union of Christendom.

1. The devotion, and that a united one, of all the energy now wasted in internecine warfare to our conflict with the world, the flesh, and the Devil.

2. The realization of our LORD'S Own promise concerning Unity, extensive conversions to GOD—both in the missionary and the home field—"that they all may be One that the world may know that thou hast sent Me."

3. The restoration of discipline, whose loss we yearly deplore in the Commination Service. Humanly speaking this will never be attainable without Re-union.

4. A fuller spiritual life from intercommunion itself, and the more vivid realization of the Communion of Saints together and with their LORD in His mystical body the Church.

5. Increased means of grace to our people, and this a practical one, travelling or living abroad. This is no light consideration. Who is without experience of the freedom from religious restraint which our people indulge in from the very consciousness that they are out of the reach of their own Church privileges and responsibilities; this excuse would be at once swept away.

An illustration at once occurs in Russia.

We have thousands of countrymen and country-women in business, as governesses, domestic servants, connected with seaports, for whom no provision whatever is made or can be made. The consequence is, that not being allowed communion in the Russo-Greek Church without a renunciation of their own, they relapse into practical heathenism. The same too of not a few localities of the Roman Obedience.

6. And this too a practical one, the solution of the vexed question of an increased Episcopate both at home and abroad. Re-union with Rome on Gallican principles would give us all the new Bishops and Sees for our joint use lately created by the Pope in this country; providentially, too, they have been formed with titles which do not clash with our present ones.

I think it was the present Chancellor of the Exchequer who, in his speech against the present Premier's Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, during the panic generally known as "the Papal Aggression," spoke to the effect that the return of the Roman Catholics from the system of Vicars Apostolic to Diocesan Bishops was a happy one: it would make their organization more complete in itself, less dependent on Rome, and more fitted in times to come to take an independent line on those principles commonly called Gallican. As Vicars Apostolic they were merely creatures of the Roman

Curia; as Diocesan Bishops they have the rights inherent in the Catholic Episcopate.

I shall conclude in the words of that book whose publication, if I mistake not, will be an epoch in the movement;—"On the terms which Bossuet, we hope, would have sanctioned, we long to see the Church united: to all who, in East or West, desire to see intercommunion restored among those who hold the Faith of the undivided Church, we say this is our longing, this is impressed on our liturgy by those that were before us: for this, whenever we celebrate the Holy Eucharist, we are bound to pray."

[NOTE.—The passage at p. 63 was evidently written before Prince Orloff's most satisfactory second letter appeared in the *Times*.—EDITOR.]

IV.

A CONFERENCE OF THEOLOGIANS:

SUGGESTED AS

A FURTHER STEP TOWARDS PROMOTING

THE

RE-UNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

BY THE REV. GEORGE NUGÉE,

VICAR OF WYMERING AND RECTOR OF WIDLEY, DIOCESE OF WINCHESTER.

Non habent Dei charitatem, qui non diligunt Ecclesiæ unitatem.
S. Aug. c. Don. iii. 21.

CHRISTENDOM, as we now see it, is a sight of sorrow. Who can look unmoved at its divided map, numbering as many Churches as continents, I had almost said, as countries, and they too often as diverse in ecclesiastical polity as in constitutional principles? Well may we exclaim with the Bishop of Modrusch, who so eloquently addressed the fathers at the fifth Lateran Council:* "Is this that daughter of Sion, that bride of CHRIST, *that ought to be One*, but which our

* Cf. Ffoulkes' "Divisions of Christendom," p. 139.

people have so often divided, rent, and torn asunder? Is this that Daughter of Sion and Sister of CHRIST, which our forefathers handed down to us, defended with all their might, maintained inviolate, with the shedding of their own blood, propagated by their fasts, tears, and prayers?—*we have lost the greater part of it*—What I have said, holy fathers, in my sorrow and for the truth, hear ye and receive impartially and consider with your eyes open what will be for the common interest of us all." And what would that prelate, what would an Apostle, nay, what would our LORD Himself say to us in this our day? Is not Unity our common interest? or rather Disunion our common danger? See what countless heresies these three centuries of Post-Reformation have brought. Is there to be no end to the subdivisions of Christendom? But here I would premise at the outset, that I am not so much concerned with those many Christian bodies which have forfeited their Catholic discipline not to say Apostolic truth —of them we know that many have ceased to witness even for CHRIST'S Godhead, Manhood, and Sacrifice—we feel that nothing short of a direct miracle from heaven could ever bring together again "the countless units" of modern infidelity and Dissent. Not so however the three great Catholic bodies—Greek,

Latin, and Anglican. They at least still retain and reflect all that is essential in Catholic Truth, and with them alone I am now concerned. True, the Church as a mirror is broken—but why busy ourselves with the ten thousand shivers and atoms around?—is it not rather to the larger fragments that we at once instinctively turn, if haply there be one, two or more that still admit of some re-adjustment. Such I repeat are those three portions of the Catholic Church of which we would now more particularly speak, and to which once more and perhaps for the last time GOD has submitted the great problem of Re-union. This is the one great thought which is taxing the energies as it is trying the hearts of some of the best and holiest in all parts of the Catholic world. And, thanks be to GOD! it is no longer a question whether anything can be done to re-unite those three great branches of the Church in one visible organised framework; but assuming the possibility, we may now ask what is the next best step towards its full and final completion. Now few, I think, will deny that we have begun at least this time in the way in which GOD's Holy Spirit would have us to begin, namely, by Intercessory Prayer. Thus much is from on high, like the inspired suggestion of Alphonso Liguori in his famous letter on the abuses to be reformed: "All that

it is permitted me to say is that it behoves us to PRAY and PRAY FERVENTLY, for it is not human wisdom or prudence that can suffice to re-establish all things in their proper and normal position. The *omnipotent Arm* of GOD *is indispensable.*" Now, therefore, that the Prayer for Unity is ascending, as the incense from East and West, together with the daily oblation, the truest symbol of Unity, we feel justified in proposing ulterior and practical measures, nay, while we write the rumour from Rome reaches us of a coming Council, and doubtless this would, under GOD, be the one final remedy for the Divisions of Christendom. "I think," said Cardinal Sadolet, "that the assembling of a General Council is the sole remedy against the daily ills and injuries which are wearing Christendom to death." But has the time really arrived for applying this final remedy? I fear not. True, the peace of Europe, however threatened it may be at times, seems by its happy continuance to favour such an event. Thus it was that Pope Paul IV. wrote:* "The Lord has vouchsafed at length to grant peace and unanimity to Christian Kings and Princes, *which opportunity being offered us*, we have, relying on His mercy, conceived the strongest hope that by means of

* Cf. "Paul on the Council of Trent," p. 397. Cf. Ffoulkes' "Divisions of Christendom," p. 148.

a General Council, an end may be put to the grievous evils of the Church.*

Again, it is true that there is now a body of Bishops and "consulting Theologians" † such as the Catholic Church has rarely possessed, such as the Council of Trent did not surpass, although in the opinion of Mr. Hallam‡ it was unequalled for its learning and patience. Looking, I repeat it, at such a body of Bishops and other Divines in every branch of the Catholic Church, we feel that we have some guarantee under GOD for the rightful determination of the questions at issue. There is this also to be observed—such a Council so assembled in our days would not have to contend with any individual Reformer in open, obstinate rebellion like Luther, but with a body of opinion, if I may so speak, only too anxious to agree. "The era of the Reformation, it has been said, was the commencement of the reign of individuals, but now we see no such individualism."

Catholic truth pervades the whole Christian body, and if there is any one advocate on behalf of the Church of England who would have to be met and answered, the "Eirenicon" at once and most opportunely tells us the spirit of love,

* Cf. "Paul," p. 130.
† Cf. Waterworth, p. cciii.
‡ Cf. Hallam Lit. of Europe, part ii., c. 2.

humility and learning, which the Roman Theologian would meet with at his hands. But let us hear the late Cardinal Wiseman on this subject, "Who being dead yet speaketh." It was the writer's lot to have discussed this question with his Eminence very shortly before his lamented death, when he referred to his "letter to Lord Shrewsbury" as expressing his own sentiments on the subject.

It was then that he assured me that he had urged on the Pope the policy of calling a General Council.—Pointing to the numerous bishops assembled at Rome, at the promulgation of the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, "Holy Father," he said, "could you not trust such men in a General Council?" "And what men were they!" he exclaimed to myself, "men from the farthest East, who astonished us with their deep learning and sanctity, but I fear it cannot be yet. How would your English Bishops take part in it? as Consultees? no. They must sit as Bishops or not at all, and that cannot be yet." Since that interview, which seems like a dream, I have often regretted that the "Eirenicon" had not been published at that time. What joy would it have given to the Cardinal in his last hours. How would it have sealed those strong convictions which he entertained as to the reality of the Catholic movement in the Church of England. How would it have afforded him a last evidence of

the fruits of his own labours in behalf of Catholic Re-union in our land. Here was at last "deep answering to deep," the depth of Catholic learning to the still greater depth of Christian love. Here was that which the Cardinal had in principle anticipated years before, while in many of its details the "Eirenicon" was the exact transcript of his own bright mind. With the keen apprehension, writes Dr. Newman, which was Cardinal Wiseman's characteristic, he at once saw in Tract 90 *a basis* of accommodation between Anglicanism and Rome. He suggested broadly that the decrees of the Council of Trent should be made the rule of interpretation for the 39 Articles. Let no retractations be demanded, but an explanation of the Articles in accordance with Catholic Doctrines. Now for such a method as this, the way is in part prepared by the demonstration in Tract 90, that such interpretation may be given of the most difficult Articles as will strip them of all contradiction to the decrees of the Tridentine Synod.

The same method may be pursued on other points, and much pain may thus be spared to individuals and much difficulty to the Church. "Is this," he added, "a visionary idea? is it merely the expression of a strong desire? I know that *many will so judge it*—and perhaps were I to consult my own quiet I would not venture to express it, but I will in simplicity of heart

cling to *hopefulness cheered* as *I feel it, by* so many promising appearances."* That Prelate is now at rest, but such words can never rest, until they find their complete fulfilment in this nineteenth-century Concordat of the Western Church. Granting then that a General Council is the final remedy, there is, we think, a previous step, anticipatory to it, and leading up directly towards it. From a Conference or colloquy of a few theologians we might fairly expect some further result in favour of Re-union, and this hope is now more than confirmed by the publication of the "Eirenicon." Here at least is a broadly defined basis for negociations which would not commit the Bishops on either side to the issue, while it would supply protocols for final discussion and settlement.

Thus Dr. Newman expresses his joy at finding "that Dr. Pusey sees his way to make definite proposals to Roman Catholics for effecting the Re-union of Christendom after its many and long-standing divisions, and is able to lay down the *basis* and *conditions* on which he would co-operate in advancing it." "It is not necessary," he adds, "that we should concur in the details of your scheme, or in the principles which it involves, in order to welcome the important fact, that with your personal knowledge of the Anglican body you consider

* Letter to Lord Shrewsbury, p. 11.

the time to be come, when you and your friends may without imprudence turn your minds to the contemplation of such an enterprise. Even were you an individual member of that Church, a watchman upon a high tower in a metropolis of religious opinion, we should naturally listen with interest to what you had to report of the state of the sky and progress of the night; what stars were mounting up or what clouds were gathering, what were the prospects . . . . . However, you are not a mere individual—you, more than any one else alive, have been the present and untiring agent by whom a great work has been effected, and far more than is usual, you have received in your lifetime as well as merited the confidence of your brethren —you cannot speak merely for yourself—your antecedents, your existing influence are a pledge to us that what you determine will be the determination of a multitude—numbers too for whom you cannot properly be said to speak—will be moved by your authority or your arguments; and numbers again who are of a school more recent than your own, and who are only not your followers because they have outstripped you in their free speeches and demonstrative acts in our behalf, will for the occasion accept you as their spokesman. There is no one anywhere among ourselves in your own body or, I suppose, in the Greek Church, who

can affect so vast a circle of men, so virtuous, so able, so learned, so zealous, as come more or less under your influence . . . . I know the joy it would give those conscientious men to be one with ourselves. I know how their hearts spring up with a spontaneous transport at the very thought of Union." Such is the valuable testimony of Dr. Newman at the present juncture. Now that every such hope will be questioned and even rejected in certain quarters is no more than we have reason to expect, looking at the difference of sentiment which exists amongst Roman Catholics for or against the English Church.

The late Cardinal himself, as we have seen, anticipated disquietude, from even broaching it. How much more then ought we to expect opposition when it is an actual Conference that we propose. Thus it was in regard to the Conference at Poissy; there were those, we read, who "thought it strange and dishonourable to put the religion of their predecessors to compromise and hazard;" others said "it was a bad example to treat of error once condemned, and that they ought not so much as to hear those who deny their religion which hath continued so long and been so amply confirmed." Others, however, said that it would be generally good to handle these con-

troversies often because the parties would by these means become familiar, malice and other bad affections would cease and many ways of composition might be found, and that there was no other course to extirpate the evil that had taken such deep root, for the Court being divided under pretence of religion it was impossible that they should be reconciled, except all obstinacy laid aside, they did tolerate one another."*

The only remaining question which seems to call for remark in such a cursory essay as this is one which I only notice in order to show that the subject-matter for such a Conference is not so complex as at first sight might appear.

The Protestant world is under the idea that the 39 articles are an insuperable barrier to any Reunion with Rome; that they must be abolished before any such event can take place.

We know and rejoice to know, on the contrary, that Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Newman, and now Dr. Pusey have openly declared the very opposite. "It may be," remarks the last writer, "that on any such negociations the Church of England might offer such explanations of the Thirty-nine Articles as the Roman and Greek Churches would accept; such as are suggested by Bossuet, or by the Commonitorium of Du Pin; or according to the precedent of the Council of Florence,

* Cf. "Paul," 420.

the Thirty-nine Articles and the Council of Trent might pass away and be merged in the Eighth General Council of the once-more united Christendom."* But supposing that those Articles did offer an insuperable bar to such Re-union, why need we retain them at such a cost? Are they a Creed? are they anything more than a Concordat, which every one takes to be on his side? "Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles," argues Dean Milman, "is altogether unnecessary as a safeguard for the essential doctrines of Christianity which are more safely and fully guarded by other means; it never has been, is not, and never will be a solid security for its professed object—the reconciling or removing religious differences, which it tends rather to create and keep alive." Again as regards the Canons, the Supremacy need not be an abiding hindrance to Re-union. "I believe," writes Dr. Pusey, "that as the first question between England and Rome was that of jurisdiction before any urgent question of faith had arisen, so it is that same question which calls for settlement in the first instance."—"To a Patriarchal Power, limited by the Canons of the Church and exercised in conformity with them, *it remains to be seen* what objection the English church might have to raise. This is *an issue to which it has never been honestly brought.* The Eastern Churches never

* Cf. Pusey's Eirenicon, p. 268.

denied to the Bishop of Rome his lawful patriarchal power. They professed it and offered all precedence to it; neither has the Anglican Church *been called on to debate the issue on this footing.*"* To this let us add that whatever the law of the realm may have meant of old, or might now be construed to mean, it is a fact which no one can deny that the Pope is permitted to exercise his supreme authority through the Roman Catholic Bishops both in England and Ireland. This is a fact allowed and indirectly sanctioned by law, while the proposal to remove the Royal Supremacy as an integral part of the Parliamentary oath is, to say the least, a public recognition of the same truth.

Lastly in regard to the Blessed Sacrament which Cardinal Lovain at Poissy affirmed to be the one question, without a true belief in which it was needless to discuss any further points; on this doctrine we now know that no difficulty need be raised after due explanation of the word *substantia*. Nay, more: "Since Du Pin and others," writes Dr. Pusey, "have owned our Communion Service to be the orthodox, I should hope that the belief of the 'real objective Presence' as therein contained, or even the formula at the close of the first Book of Homilies, 'the due receiving of the body and blood of CHRIST under the form of bread and

* Cf. Manning on Unity, p. 363.

wine,' *might become the basis* of mutual understanding instead of any enquiries into the meaning of the words *substance* or change."*

And now whether we look at the question of Re-union, from the side of Rome or England, one thing is certain—it is no longer a time for narrow, illiberal policy in religion any more than in politics. No man more clearly saw this than the late Cardinal Wiseman, and it was the perception of this truth that made him equal to cope with the times in which he lived and conquer their prejudices. To England then we would say, see your past mistake and accept the first whispered overture for Unity. *Refuse not, in any case, the discussion of the question.* Remember Queen Elizabeth's error in refusing to send her representatives to the Council of Trent—an error which probably entailed on us three long centuries of dis-union amongst ourselves and separation from our Mother Church. Let us rather emulate King Charles the First, who at least made overtures through the Royal Minister at the time: "You may of yourself as you find occasion intimate that we shall be willing to join with the Pope in anything that may conduce to the peace of Christendom and to the visible Re-union of the Church."† To the

* Cf. Pusey's Eirenicon, p. 229.

† Preface to Sancta Clara, by Rev. F. G. Lee. London: Hayes, 1866.

Roman Catholics, on the other hand, we would say, "Throw off prejudice; if your Church has not acted as you maintain, "*errante clave*" *quà* the faith, has she not faltered in charity? Has all been love on her part? O, be wise at least in this your day, for never was the future of your Church so completely in your own hands as it is at present; every session in Parliament declares it, the appointment of Roman Catholic judges in England of itself shows how the religious antipathies of the last three centuries have ceased to operate. And say not, think not, that England is openly and obstinately separated. But what if she were? —what would a wise policy suggest? Thus we read (A.D. 1560) "that Pius IV. sent the Abbot Martinenzo to the Queen Elizabeth, to invite her and her bishops to the Council, and although the Pope was reminded that to send nuncios into England and to princes elsewhere *who do profess open separation from the See of Rome would be a disreputation to him*, yet he answered *he would humble himself* to heresy in regard that whatsoever was done to gain souls to CHRIST did beseem the See. For the same reason also he sent Canobius into Polonia with design to make him go into Muscovia to invite that Prince and nation to the Council, *though they have never acknowledged the Pope of Rome*, and afterwards speaking of the Council in Con-

sistory, he desired to be informed of the learned men of godly life and opinion in divers provinces, fit to dispute and persuade the Truth, saying that he purposed to call many of them —promising that after he had used all possible diligence to make all Christians come hither and unite them in religion, though some or many refused to come he would not forbear to proceed." *

Here then we may leave the subject of this short essay "believing and hoping that although for our sins the Church be now miserably divided, it may yet be once more united even in our own day. Let us only believe that it still retains the power of recovery. We are divided because we have so little faith in the Grace of Unity. Let us stedfastly trust that our long lost heirloom will once more be found when, by the Grace of GOD, the pride and arrogance, the selfishness and contentions of man are brought down to obey the primitive traditions of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church."†

THUS WE BELIEVE.
THUS WE THINK.
THUS WE SUBSCRIBE.‡

* Cf. Paul, p. 408.
† Manning on Unity, p. 373.
‡ Cf. Acclamation of the Bishops at the close of the Council of Trent.

V.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF RE-UNION.

By THE REV. W. PERCEVAL WARD, M.A.,

RECTOR OF COMPTON VALENCE, DORSETSHIRE.

THE difficulties of the Re-union of Christendom are so often obtruded upon us by unfriendly critics, and of themselves bring so many sad thoughts to our minds, that we are naturally inclined to turn from them to the brighter and more hopeful side of that great question. It is good for us, nevertheless, and indeed necessary for the ultimate attainment of our desires, to keep them always steadily in view, and to face them in all their unattractive reality.

I propose, therefore, to speak of these difficulties this evening in a plain, matter-of-fact way, without attempting to conceal from view any part of the rough road before us.

In doing this I must speak of much that is obvious to all; may I ask you therefore to

* Read at a Conversazione on Re-union, held in London, April 26, 1866.

pardon remarks, that will appear trite and common-place, in the hope that a general view of the obstacles before us may lead us to a more courageous determination with GOD'S help to overcome them?

The first great hindrance that is before us arises from the *Protestantism of England.* Till this is removed, the Re-union of our Church, as the Church of England, with either the Greek, or Latin Churches, is absolutely hopeless.

We might, no doubt, become unestablished, and so divide into two Communities, the one Protestant the other Catholic in its temperament; and the Catholic-minded portion might unite with either East or West, or haply with both: that Catholic-minded portion also of the old religious community which is now called the Church of England, might assume to itself that title; still it would not be the Church of the English nation, but of a section only of the nation. This would not be a corporate union between the Church of England, as we now understand that term, and the Churches of the East and West; it would only be the absorbtion into the whole body of a small religious Community without Cathedrals, Churches, or revenues; a small community, which could maintain but a precarious existence in the midst of the great English nation, or,—to take a wider view of it, and include America, and the

Colonies,—a precarious existence in the midst of the busy, powerful Anglo-Saxon race.

The vision we have had before us, and of which the late Cardinal Wiseman spoke in his Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury some five and twenty years ago, has been that of the venerable and wealthy Established Church of England, really representing the religion of the great majority of the nation, and supported by her daughter Churches in America and the Colonies, re-entering in one great body, with all the prestige of social order and political power, into the one great Catholic family, attracting others to herself, as much as being herself drawn to others.

A fair vision certainly, but there is this little obstacle to its fulfilment; England is Protestant to the backbone—Protestantism is ingrained into her Constitution, her laws, her social system, and her religious habits. It has all but invaded the Ritual of her Church, as it certainly has full possession of the minds of the vast majority of her Clergy; yet England must be Catholicized before we can have the remotest prospect of the restoration of her Church to Catholic unity.

I do not say that England must merely be *un-Protestantized* before this can be, but I say more, she must be *Catholicized*. Our country may cease to be Protestant, in the religious sense of that word, without becoming Catholic, she

may lose her faith in the Bible, as well as in the Church—and then a dark day indeed, be it long, or be it short, a dismal gloom indeed, till faith revives. Certainly the hour of a nation's faithlessness will not be the time for the blessed gift of Unity to that nation's Church; even if it retain the outer shell and semblance of a Church at all.

England then must be *Catholicized* before her Church can be restored to Unity. This is the work before us, the very first step that must be gained. We shall afterwards, though it may doubtless be simultaneously, have to overcome the rigidity of the unchanging East, and the hitherto unbending claims of the Western Patriarch.

What then are the difficulties in the way of this first step? We all know that notwithstanding the Catholic form of her Liturgy taken as a whole the Church of England presents herself in most un-Catholic guise to the scrutiny of her sister Churches. In outward form she is not of them; nor is she of them in the teaching of her clergy, or the faith of her people. To those sister Churches she seems to have lost the first principle of Christian worship—the sacrifice of the altar. It is in vain that we point to the words of a book: the answer is, "The sacrifice may indeed exist under the forms of this book, but the book does not in

words distinctly recognise it, while the Ritual which might do so and to a great extent supply the deficiency, is confined to a few only, and those few avowedly condemned by almost the whole of your Episcopate, and by the overwhelming majority of your clergy and people." This is all too true; we have to teach our teachers as well as our people; we have to teach them this first principle of Christian worship—a task easy enough in itself if they had received the doctrine upon which it rests, but they have not received that doctrine; they have not only not received, but they do not even *understand* the cardinal doctrine of the Real Presence. Hitherto preaching and writing have failed to make our clergy and people apprehend what is meant by this doctrine; or where it has been apprehended as an intellectual proposition, it has been but rarely realized as a living faith, except in a subjective form; a presence real in effect, not in fact. With some it has been merely part of a theological literature that has not accompanied them out of their studies; or if to the pulpit, certainly not to the altar. I once saw a striking example of this, and that only a very few years since. It was no ordinary test of the faith of our clergy upon this doctrine. It was on the occasion of a Church Congress; the clergy therefore present were assembled from all parts of the

kingdom. A very large number of them, some three or four hundred persons altogether, attended an early celebration of the Holy Eucharist; in the Church in which they met the service was most admirably performed, and it need not be added that the congregation was most reverent; indeed, nothing could be more striking than the response of that large assembly of devout men. No one who heard it could ever forget it. Again, they were almost exclusively High Churchmen. Some even there were who on paper and by speech had stood up manfully in defence of this very doctrine; yet, after the Blessing had been given, while some few remained devoutly kneeling to consume that which remained of the consecrated elements, the rest, with the exception of three or four, lounged carelessly out of Church, passing their morning greetings to one another without apparently more consciousness of any special reverence due than men usually exhibit in leaving a College Chapel. What *can* we conclude from this but that that large assembly of the High Church clergy of England, representing every diocese within it probably, did not in the remotest degree realize the verity of a true, objective Presence in the most Holy Eucharist.

Here, then, is perhaps our chiefest difficulty—the very teachers of our Church have to be

taught a doctrine, which till both pastors and people have received thoroughly, and made a part of their very selves, as it were, any hope of Re-union with the rest of Christendom is futile. Before such an audience as this I need not say that the best way to teach this doctrine is the adoption of a high and noble Ritual, a Ritual that shall compel the dullest and most thoughtless to ask, "What mean ye by this service?" Men are so used to listen to mere words, that they care little for what is *said* only. I was much struck with this lately in reading an article in an evening paper, which very ably and perhaps more truly than any other, represents the mind of the educated world around us. The drift of that article was, "*Say* what you please, we can believe you or not, as we like; but don't plague us with your forms and ceremonies; we are not obliged to listen to your sermon, we can think about something else till you have done; but your forms and ceremonies are an unmitigated nuisance; we can't get away from them; they are an overt act of aggression upon our peace and comfort in Church which we won't stand."

Now there is great encouragement here to persevere; we have found out at last what will arrest the attention of the indolent and thoughtless; even though it rouse the wrath and fury of the world. But better far than this, we

have found out at last what will bring the poor man to our Churches and convert him into a humble worshipper.

I do not of course mean that these are in any degree *primary* motives for the adoption of a high Ritual—they are but secondary; nevertheless as such, they have an immense value. Our Ritual makes educated men enquire and think; while it comes home at once to the heart, and satisfies the religious instincts of the uneducated poor man; and to the outer world, to the power-seeking, mammon-loving, self-satisfied, self-indulgent, self-worshipping world, it rings out the Most Holy Name in tones so high and clear, that the Prince of this world, maddened with rage, tears his victim ere he leaves him, and casts him down wallowing and foaming. Such I apprehend to be a true account of the impotent fury of so large a portion of the popular press of England, and of the mobs hounded on by it.

This is not a fitting occasion to discuss a question, which is purely an Anglican one, beyond the point where it touches the more general subject of this paper. Let me, however, say this one word, that while we none of us advocate a rough, uncharitable, forcing of Ritual upon congregations unprepared, and unwilling to receive it, we cannot always wait to be asked for it; we know that Ritual is not only the

natural expression of a people's religion, but that it is also a most powerful means of teaching that religion; till then a congregation is brought up to the very highest standard in this, their Clergy are in duty bound to be ever in advance of them; leading them on step by step, as wisdom and charity may direct. We have an immensely difficult task before us, and one almost as various in its phases as it is difficult. We have need then of all wisdom, of all charity, of all zeal, and of all patience. The work will need the exercise of every one of these virtues before it is accomplished; and yet accomplished it must be before England can be re-united to the rest of the Catholic Church. How can we present ourselves before Churches which still follow unchanged the great Rite of S. Chrysostom, and those who have preserved intact the Order of S. Gregory and S. Ambrose? How can we present ourselves before these Churches in all the nakedness of our maimed Rites and ask for admission to their communion, or invite them to ours? The answer would be, "You have not on the wedding garment; we do not know you."

But there is a difficulty which precedes this of which we have now spoken; and strange to say it is one in which, as in the other, though not at all in the same degree, really good religious people, and many of even the clergy, are

mixed up. I mean the marvellous misconception that exists far and wide amongst us of the nature of *worship*. To explain what I mean I will read to you two pages, and only two pages, from a book I bought the other day at a railway station. It is called "Clergymen of the Church of England, by Anthony Trollope, reprinted from the 'Pall Mall Gazette.'" It is of course a very amusing book, and equally of course not a very deep one; but Mr. Anthony Trollope is not only a representative man, he is also one who has honoured the clergy and the religion of the Church of England with a good deal of notice. So that he must be supposed to be as well up in the matter as any of the very large class which he represents. The same too may be said of the "Pall Mall Gazette." It is very often kind enough to read us a most serious, though far from unamusing, homily upon matters of doctrine and discipline. Well, then, these are their joint ideas of Christian worship. The subject of the chapter is "The Normal Dean of the present day." Upon this subject Mr. Trollope says: "If there be any man who is not, or who has not been a Dean himself, who can distinctly define the duties of a Dean of the Church of England, he must be one who has studied ecclesiastical subjects very deeply. When Cathedral services were kept up for the honour

of GOD, rather than for the welfare of the worshippers, with an understanding faintly felt by the indifferent, but strongly realized by the pious, that recompense would be given by the ALMIGHTY for the honour done to him —as cathedrals were originally built and adorned with that object — it was natural enough that there should be placed at the head of those who served in the choir a high dignitary, who, by the weight of his presence and the grace of his rank, should give an increased flavour of ecclesiastical excellence to those services. * * * * * But the idea of honouring our Creator by the excellence of our Church services, though it remains firmly fixed enough in the minds of some of us, is no longer a national idea; we use our cathedrals in these days as big churches in which multitudes may worship, so that, if possible, they may learn to live Christian lives. They are made beautiful that this worship may be attractive to men, and not for the glory of GOD. What architect would now think it necessary to spend time and money in the adornment of parts of his edifice which no mortal eye can reach? But such was done in the old days when deans were first instituted. Multitudes, no doubt, crowded our cathedrals in those times—when bishops and deans were subject to the Pope—but they were there for the honour of GOD, testifying their faith by

the fact of their presence. That all this has been changed need hardly be explained here." Changed, indeed, it has been; men do indeed no longer come to Cathedral or Church for the honour of GOD, but only and merely for some good to be got for themselves; not knowing that the honouring of GOD by the testifying of their faith is their highest good. Changed indeed it all has been from those times, when Bishops and Deans—subject, albeit, to the Pope—led multitudes to crowd our Cathedrals for this end and object. Changed, indeed, it all has been; and on us it has fallen to re-change that change. Hard and wearisome will be the task to raise the moral status of those who have not even in their notions of a *material* Church got beyond what Pugin used to call the "shop front idea." Harder and more wearisome still, when we consider the *spiritual* state of those, among whom such ideas as these pass current; and they are probably the great majority of the upper and middle classes of England; for nothing can be more evident than that they have yet to learn the very first principles of Divine worship, they have yet to learn what is the service due from the creature to the Creator; what is meant by adoration. One is at a loss to imagine what can be their conceptions of the worship of Heaven. Do they think that the unending cry

of "Thrice Holy" is uttered for *mutual edification?* Or that the emerald rainbow round about the Throne, and the sea of glass before it, and the golden altar, and the "pearly gates," are set in Heaven for *show?* That the "worship" of Heaven, "not offered for the glory of GOD, may be attractive to" *the Angels?* Or, if it be supposed that there is so much difference between heavenly and earthly worship, that the ALMIGHTY Creator of all delights in beauty in the one part of His Creation, and not in another, in the offerings of his creatures there, but not here. What do they think of what GOD Himself ordered about His worship under a lower covenant than this? Do they imagine that Bezaleel, "filled with the Spirit of GOD, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship," that he, to use a builder's term, that he "*scamped* his work," when he came to the Holy of Holies, because no one but the High Priest was to see it? But I do not wish now to enter into these questions further than to show how elementary is the teaching needed by our more educated classes to bring them up to a condition in which they would be at all capable of receiving the true faith of Catholic mysteries, and of appreciating, or rather of enduring, Catholic worship. And yet, I say

again, this must be done before they can be fit for Catholic Unity.

But there is a lower depth still, and we must look steadily into it before we can fully appreciate the work before us. I believe that the fundamental difficulty which underlies the whole is the unintelligent or indefinite belief of our upper and middle classes (I am not now including the clergy) in the very first principles of the Christian religion. We marvel sometimes that so few can realize the doctrine of the Sacraments, that the vast majority seem so entirely unable to comprehend even what is meant by the Real Presence in the Most Holy Eucharist, that English congregations seem for the most part to have no conception of the simplest idea of *worship*. But we should cease to marvel if we remembered, or if we knew, what I fear is the true cause of this. We must go back for it to their shadowy belief in a doctrine that must precede all others in a Christian's faith—a doctrine without which he simply has no religion, and can have none. We shall find it in their unconscious half-belief in the great cardinal verity of the *Incarnation*.

The great body of the upper and middle classes of England do not *realize* this mystery of all mysteries—they do not *deny* it; nay, they would probably assert it in words, but they do not *realize* it; they do not really understand

what it means. There have been many proofs of this of late in the favour with which publications have been received which ignore it; books of travel in the East which discuss Mahometanism; a considerable amount of the popular novels of the day, when they incidentally touch on matters of faith; and graver works also, such as the first of the condemned "Essays and Reviews." Nor can I believe, even giving the fullest credit for a good intention, that a book like "Ecce Homo" could have been received in a community of well-instructed Christians with the fervour with which that book has been hailed by so large a portion of English society. It is most true, and we may be thankful for it, that our people are not yet prepared to receive the open blasphemies that find favour upon the Continent; they are as yet, thank GOD! too *superstitious* for that. But what we have reason to complain of is, that their religion is only a superstition; it is not a clear, intellectual reception in faith of the great *fact* upon which the Gospel rests. They do not in reality know the meaning of these words: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with GOD, and the Word was GOD." And why is this? They have their English Bible, their English Prayer-book, and the Creeds. How *can* they be ignorant of the great verity which is the key-note, as it were, to the teaching

of all these? One great cause no doubt is the undogmatic way in which religion has been taught among us, the absence of real catechizing, the loose wordiness of popular preaching, the timid reserve of even good people. But there is another cause which I believe to have very much to do with it. It is this: *that our people have been studiously taught to dishonour the Blessed Virgin.* It is a moral impossibility for any human being to adore the Son, who thinks and speaks with no reverence of the Mother.

I have lived much in Italy and seen many things in the devotion of the people there, which have distressed and grieved me; but the worst superstition that can be seen in Italy, of which the Blessed Virgin is the object, is far less shocking to the Christian heart than the shameful scorn heaped upon the Mother of God by otherwise religiously-minded Protestants. The Italian superstition may, I much fear most surely does, keep from Him the fulness of loving trust; but *this* is an impassable bar to any real adoration of Him. It is impossible that irreverent thoughts of her can coincide with adoring thoughts of Him. One great test of the truth of what I am saying is, that her incommunicable title, the name by which the Church has ever expressed her honour, by which so many generations have hailed her Blessed, as alone "Theotokos," alone

the Mother of God, cannot be received by the great body of English Christians. Not many years ago at the request of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and without any remonstrance from any single Bishop that was publicly heard, this her wondrous title, which, if it be not hers of right, has deceived the faithful in all ages, and He in Whom they have trusted is not the Eternal Son, is not the Second Person of the Almighty Trinity,—this incommunicable title of the Most Blessed Virgin was struck out of books published by the old and wide-spread Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

By that act I need not say that the most venerable of all Church of England Societies is committed to an overt act, however unconsciously, an overt act of *heresy*.

Having spoken thus strongly on the one side, I wish to say a few words in order to guard myself from being misunderstood on the other. It has lately been said by Dr. Newman in his touching and beautiful answer to the "Eirenicon," that the "cultus" of the Blessed Virgin, as we see it practised in the Church of Rome, naturally and properly flows from the titles of honour lawfully attributed to her by the early Church. With the sincerest deference to the "Master," I cannot see the *sequitur*. Appellations of due honour to a creature whom God hath delighted to honour; warm and glow-

ing ascriptions of reverent love and laudation, ascriptions, even apparently extravagant, and such as almost border upon the unlawful, these are all one thing. A religious "cultus," a religious worship of any kind offered to that creature is surely quite another; it is absolutely different *in genere*, and appears to me to be no logical sequence whatever of the first.

That it may be *morally probable* that it will follow, is only to say, what is true, that human nature has that peculiar tendency; that it is a logical necessity that it *must*, I deny.*

But this is not the question now before us. We are speaking of the withholding and even the denying of due honour; nay, of what is too often heard among us, of contemptuous speaking of her, whom God hath honoured above all created beings. And this contempt, this withholding of due honour, I maintain indicates in the surest way that the *cause* of Mary's Blessedness is not appreciated, and not even fully understood; for if it were, no possible reaction against the opposite error could check the love and reverence for the Mother of our Lord. Here then is a large part of our first great work; it is no less than to teach the Upper and Middle

* That it *has* followed, as it has in the Latin Church, is a cause of deepest sorrow to those, who, longing for a Reunion with that Church, think, as many of us are constrained to think, that it has thereby permitted a grievous infringement of God's eternal laws.

Classes of English society this primary truth of the religion which they call theirs.

And in order to do this, while we preach and catechize in clear dogmatic form, we must teach them to honour the Blessed Virgin Mary, to know her, love her, reverence her, as the Mother of GOD, Incarnate in her womb. Then, and not before, will they realize the verity of His Incarnation. When that is realized, the doctrine of the Sacraments, and the Truth of His Presence in the Most Holy Eucharist will be realized also. And when they are realized, the Rites in which those verities are enshrined, and the Ritual which clothes and adorns those Rites, will become the natural, irrepressible expression of the Christian heart; and England will be Catholic once more.

But our difficulties do not arise from ourselves alone. If England were wholly Catholic to-morrow, there would still be great obstacles to Unity to be overcome: there would be obstacles in the East as well as in the West. I will not, however, upon this occasion dwell upon those that would come from the East. If England were really Catholic in spirit, they would probably disappear. Not so those from the West. We must, I fear, say at once that if the principles, which at present govern the Roman Catholic Community do not change, any Re-union with that Community, either on the

part of the East, or of ourselves, is absolutely hopeless.

We have been taught that the *dogmata* of the Council of Trent, and the Thirty-nine Articles are not irreconcileable. A Re-union then upon the basis of a mutual explanation, which, if England were Catholic-minded, would be forthcoming on our side at once, such a Re-union would not be based on "indifferentism," but on that love of peace which leads to truth, and on the love of truth which secures peace. "Pacem et veritatem diligite ait Dominus Omnipotens." Love peace, and you will attain to truth. "Love the truth and peace, saith the LORD GOD ALMIGHTY." Love the truth and it will lead you to peace. The two versions present the same verity, or rather the whole verity, by this transposition of the words, and I commend them to the consideration of those, who say, that our love of peace and unity leads to "indifferentism." If, however, a Re-union were effected upon the basis of such an explanation of the Articles and the *dogmata* of Trent, as even Cardinal Wiseman thought possible, both would afterwards be absorbed in the infallible decrees of an Œcumenical Council.

But it is absolute waste of time to talk of Re-union, while Ultramontanism is the governing principle at Rome. We have always known this; but of late the disheartening truth has

been brought home to us in a more than usually painful way by the Pastoral Letter of Archbishop Manning. I am not about to complain of that Pastoral; it would be unreasonable to do so, it was addressed to the Archbishop's own flock, not to Anglicans: its arguments therefore do not touch us. They have been said to be founded on assumptions that have been met and answered over and over again, that the Archbishop knows this better than most men; but that nevertheless he ignores the fact, and writes on calmly and grandly, as though his assertions never had been questioned, and never could be. This is sometimes said of that Pastoral, but we must remember that he is addressing persons whom he has a right to suppose admit his premisses, and who must therefore accept his conclusions. It is for them, not for an Anglican, to see and judge how far those premisses must be thus admitted, and whether the conclusions drawn from them are logical and just. But this we cannot help seeing, that if all Roman Catholics must of necessity accept those premisses, and admit the conclusions, any Re-union with them is hopeless. As surely as the Protestantism of England must be rooted out, so surely must the Ultramontanism of Rome be forgotten, before there can be peace, or the hope of peace. It is in vain to argue with it; "Rome has spoken, the

cause is ended," is an argument that cannot be answered, except by leading people to see that Rome is not the Catholic Church, and therefore not infallible; or, to reverse the argument, that Rome is not infallible, and therefore is not the Catholic Church. Neither can we, I think, reasonably complain of Cardinal Patrizi's Letter. From his point of view the Church is not divided, never has been, and never can be; he cannot therefore be expected to approve of a Society that only exists upon the assumption that it is; he cannot pray for the healing of a schism, which he does not believe to be. An Ultramontane may pray for *Schismatics*, who by their schism are cut off from the Body; but he cannot admit that there is a division in the Body itself.

With Gallicanism, or its equivalent, we can reason; and though it may not be so strictly logical as Ultramontanism, which like the "Catholic and Apostolic Church," in Gordon Square, has certainly the merit of completeness, consistency and simplicity, yet does it hold out a greater hope of our all arriving at a system, which would be equally consistent, and founded on a truer principle than either the infallibility of the Pope, or the mission of a restored Apostolate. We seek, indeed, no new system, but we ask our fellow-Christians to restore the old: that on which the Church was built

at the first, and under which she lived through the persecutions of Jewish High Priests and Roman Emperors; under which she held the faith against old philosophies and new heresies; under which she resisted the blandishments of prosperity, and remained calm and unshaken while the fourth great empire of the world was in all the anarchy of ruin and dissolution; and under which she herself rose, as a still greater empire, the greatest, the most far spreading, and the most enduring of all the powers upon earth.

Such, speaking generally, are the difficulties of the Re-union of Christendom. There may be more; political difficulties might arise, as well as religious; there may be more, there can hardly be said to be fewer or less. What hope then can the most sanguine entertain, whether they regard the unbending character of the orthodox Eastern Church, or the Ultramontanism of modern Rome, or the Protestantism of England? In the East there are signs of life, and of a renewed longing for a closer intercourse with the rest of Christendom; such as have not existed for generations past. But what hope *can* we have of shaking off this dead weight of a dull, inert Protestantism? We have *this* hope, that Protestantism is fast dying out; it is struck for death as an active, energizing, spiritual power in the world. It has still

a great hold upon the middle class, and among the older members of the upper class; but it is so entirely bereft of zeal and talent among the comparatively very few of the younger men that still call themselves "Evangelical," that as the older men die off it will scarcely be known among the upper class, and in the middle class be quite unable to hold its ground against the only two spiritual powers that seem now to have a career before them, Catholicism and Scepticism. The collision must be between these two, and Protestantism will be crumpled up in the encounter.

I do not mean by what I have said to intimate that religious Protestantism in its most bigoted form is not a million times better than scepticism in its mildest; but I have not the slightest fear of the result of our contest with the latter; numbers may perish in it, but the Church will triumph in this England of ours, whatever may be her fate for a time elsewhere. We may look back upon the religious history of England for the last hundred years, and take heart. The religious *education* of our country has throughout that period been most remarkable. Our first call was to a more *spiritual* life; Wesley, and the early Evangelical preachers, taught religion in its spiritual *essence;* they knew nothing of the *body*, of the Church that is, its forms, and its teaching.

Now this alone seems to me to have been a most marked Providence. Sunk as the world then was in sensuality, dead as the Church was, had the first revival been to outward forms and Creeds, even had it been to a high Sacramental teaching, we may well believe that it would have been—for the mass of the people—form alone; that *life* would have been wanting. But when that life had been infused, and the religious part of the nation *spiritualized*, as it were, then was the body restored to it; but *gradually;* at first, again, the teaching came in the more spiritual form of high intellectual training, emanating from and carried on at the fountain head of ethical education in this country. Then when the heart of the nation had been thus warmed, and the intellect of her more choice sons enlightened, the beauty and the glory of the *body* began to be restored to her in her Church. Poetry first clothed the holy thoughts of the Christian Year with melodies that will ever live, as does the blessed spirit that breathed them. Then Architecture, the Queen of Arts, followed soon with her handmaids of Painting and Sculpture. And now Music carries captive the dullest hearts. A noble Ritual alone is needed to crown the work. And can we doubt that we shall have it? Is this divine work to be stopped now, just as it touches at its completion? The

Church of England has been spiritualized, indoctrinated, enriched with choicest gifts, the place of her Sanctuary has been beautified, the hearts of her people are being restored to her, her Alleluias again rise from her thronged choirs, and the great congregation once more answers with loud Hosannas; and, more than all, multitudes of humble worshippers again fall prostrate before her altars.

Can we believe that the small residue will be withheld from us? There must, indeed, be grievous sin and falling off somewhere if it be. Only let us claim it with boldness, and take it in charity; dealing tenderly and respectfully with the natural and becoming prejudices of old age, and the fears of timid consciences, while we show all reasonable deference to the counsels of superiors, weighted as they are with the anxious responsibilities of official station; and then we need not fear either the mockery or the rage of the World. Our Church, set in all her queenly state shall have her own again, and shall stand confessed, in outward guise at least, as that which she has ever professed to be, a true branch of the One, Holy, Catholic Church. The religious heart of England will then see and reverence the One Body, of which this, her own Established Church, is visibly a living and glorious member; she will see, and love, and reverence the Mother in the Daughter. And

even the outer world, while learning at last the eternal verities of which she is the guardian and the witness, will acknowledge that as the Head is, so must the Body be—One and indivisible.

There yet remains the harder question of the difficulties that will be interposed on the part of *Rome*. My own hope, I confess, rests mainly on the gracious results, which will, I firmly believe, be brought out of temporal adversity.

The enemies of the Church upon the Continent are working out her greater true power, and greater true glory. They may drive the Pope from Rome and keep him from his own for many years; but it will only be (I will venture on the prophecy)—it will only be for his return to be hailed by a re-united and concordant Church. His absence from the city which has been the focus of so many intrigues will materially help to scatter the intriguers. His loss of temporal power, or at any rate, of temporal independence,—for *power*, properly so called, he has none—but his loss of temporal independence will make him throw himself more entirely upon his spiritual authority; thus will that authority be tested, and reduced to its due proportions: whatever the undivided Church accorded to him of old will be again freely offered, and thus Re-union be made possible.

There is an old prophecy which may be taken

to shadow forth what I am now anticipating as likely to arise from the troubles which surround the Primatial See.

That prophecy foretells the characters and fortunes of the later Popes by assigning a motto to each, a motto which expresses, or is supposed to express, some striking trait in that character, or those fortunes. Whatever may have been the value of others, the motto given to the present Pope is most strikingly applicable. It is "Crux de Cruce"—"a cross from the Cross." His troubles have indeed arisen from his position in the Church. If Mastai Ferretti had been only an elected temporal Prince, he might have been King of Italy; but he believed himself to be the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and as such he could not remove his neighbour's landmark; nor could he take part with infidels, blasphemers, and robbers of churches even to work out his country's good; and so he could neither lead nor follow in the political troubles that have marked his reign. Then again he was Defender of the Faith, and as such he could not permit that religious licence within his dominions which in these days is held to be, and indeed may be, necessary to liberty. Thus not only could he not rule over united Italy, which men, in the days of his popularity, had dreamed he might have done, but he lost much even of his own dominions, and will probably lose all. Hence

it may be seen how true it is to say, that his cross comes from the Cross. He is the chief cross-bearer of Christendom, and hence his troubles. But when all political strife shall have ceased with the last remnant of political power; when the College of Cardinals shall have become more cosmopolitan, and less Italian; when the Primate shall belong to the whole Church, and not so specially to Italy; then, with the pure, unmixed, spiritual authority will come clearer light, and a simpler course of duty.

The motto ascribed to the next Pope is "Lumen de Cœlo"—"Light from Heaven." If that hold as good as this, we shall see glorious times indeed. As Solomon followed David, the sage, the warrior, the builder of the temple—him who was so often driven from Jerusalem, the philosophic Preacher—him, who, with whatever failings, was the man after GOD'S own heart; so may it be again; and when this true Soldier of the Cross shall be called to rest from his long and weary warfare, then, with peaceful times may come the counsels of peace. With the East opening her heart once more to her sisters; with England prepared by her long training of a hundred years; with the Priesthood of Italy purified by persecution; with old superstitions, both of priest and people, in France and Germany, and perchance even in

Spain, rubbed off by rough contact with the "oppositions of science," both truly and "falsely so called;" when all this shall be, and it is neither presumptuous nor unreasonable to believe that it will be—then may we look for the "Light from Heaven." No camarilla of worldly-minded politicians, lay or sacerdotal, to hide it under the bed of their ambition; but set on high, upon the Candlestick of the entire, undivided Church, an emanation of the True Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, this Light from Heaven shall bring a glorious day to all the nations of the earth.

VI.

1636 AND 1866.

By THE REV. FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, D.C.L.

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM.

WHEN King Charles the First ascended the throne, there were those living whose parents had known England prior to the ecclesiastical breach, under Henry the Eighth, with the rest of Western Christendom. These latter had remembered the religious houses and chantries unspoiled and undestroyed, before the division between Rome and England seemed complete and consolidated. Father Sigebert Buckley, the last surviving monk of Westminster, had died in the ninety-third year of his age, only fifteen years ago. The memories of More, Whiting of Glastonbury, and Fisher had not been forgotten; nor the words of good counsel from others who, loving peace rather than discord, and truth better than peace, earnestly pleaded for a policy of moderation,

and saw with regret the steady widening of that breach which had been by some so rashly and by others so deliberately created. Few, even of the farsighted, perceived the full drift of what had been done, while none realized how thoroughly a principle of disunion had been accepted and acted upon in the changes, so efficiently made, of the last eighty years. Yet the memorials of the past were not altogether lost, and the wisest of those who welcomed the new king saw that what had been so unhappily effected in previous reigns, might by tact and co-operation be considerably weakened or undone now. Complications of difficulties, both at home and abroad, led to a seeking out of the ancient and long-forgotten principles of authority and obedience; while the religious sentiments of the many, which were deeply seated, efficiently aided the search. For awhile the stern authority of those in high places, boldly exercised, was sufficient to keep lawlessness and licence in check. Acts of Parliament and Privy-Council warrants were found to be exceedingly powerful for the work in hand; so that, after the changes of the Reformation, the great bulk of the people were legally compelled to be grateful for blessings and benefits which seemed to a clear majority of them rather losses and misfortunes than otherwise; while Antinomians, Brownists, and

others, pushing the Reforming principles to their extremest tether during the reign of King James the First, caused the more thoughtful to realize very fully the growing evils of disunion, and in earnestness and singleness of heart, to seek for the only possible remedy—a restoration of that Visible Unity in the Western Church which had so recently been obscured.

That the young King Charles deliberately adopted Re-union sentiments, as a key to many pressing difficulties, both religious and political, seems indisputable.* Personally remarkable for great faith and sincere devotion, the position of parties both at home and abroad evidently led Him to this wise resolution. Far-sighted and earnest, with a lofty conception of the kingly prerogative, and an earnest love for the welfare of the nation, He saw the dangers which threatened the state, and set Himself to meet them with a determined good-will. In Rome there was not only a spirit of conciliation abroad, but amongst some few of the most influential of the Roman Court a sincere desire to imitate the policy of Pius the Fourth unquestionably existed. It was reported that

* "One of the famous preachers (of the Church of England), having bitterly inveighed against schism in a Sermon before the King; His Majesty was heard afterwards to say that he would willingly have parted with one of his hands, rather than such a schism (as that caused by the Reformation) should have ever happened."—*Panzani to Cardinal Barberini*, Feb. 16th, 1635. *Memoirs*, p. 135.

Aldobrandini, afterwards Clement the Eighth, having mourned over the separation of England from visible communion with the Holy See, had expressed a desire for a reversion of the short-sighted policy adopted by some of his predecessors which had wrought such mischief; while certain of his sentiments sanction the notion that a Corporate Re-union would have received his tacit support.*

Urban the Eighth, not only a clever politician, and a great prelate, but a man of highly cultivated mind,† sound judgment and great foresight, taking a broad view of the losses which the Reformation had effected, looked with affectionate interest to the isolation of England —a standing witness to, perhaps, the greatest loss of all that Rome had sustained. For, even up to this period, the external changes in matters ecclesiastical, had been comparatively unimportant. Outwardly, nothing very material had been altered. Fast and feast, service and solemnity came and went much as of old. Long after Queen Elizabeth's time, several generations were called to their fathers ere the pious traditions of bygone years were altogether lost, or their thread broken.‡ Even

* Letter of John Wilfred to Secretary Windebank.

† He published the Breviary under a new form, corrected the Hymns of the Church, and cultivated with success Latin poetry.

‡ The Churches were the same, the orders of the hier-

Thomas Cromwell, under Henry, and the whole tribe of Calvinistic prelates under Elizabeth, could neither root out Faith and Love, nor destroy that intuitive reverence for true Religion which was so apparent amongst the poor. The bells from minster tower and village spire rang out as before; old services, mutilated no doubt, but yet precious were said; the sign of the cross was still piously drawn on forehead and breast at the time of meals and when toil began; while the four guardian angels watching over the sleep of the faithful were religiously invoked by those who continued to believe that GOD had "ordained and constituted the services of angels and men in a wonderful order," while the Saxon saints were not altogether forgotten.* True, Puritanism, sprung from the spawn of the Reformation, was active and potent: but its principles were not so fully developed as during the Great Rebellion. And occasionally they received a decided check. So that King Charles need not be written down as

archy remained, and what was calculated to conciliate the multitude, the communion-table was placed where the altar stood, music was retained, all the old festivals with their eves were observed; the dress of the officiating ministry only was changed to a less gaudy and garish vesture. The use of the English language, also, when the first impression was effaced, greatly contributed to attract the people to it; as did the admission of the laity to the cup."—*Introduction to Panzani's Memoirs*, p. 17. *Oscott*, 1793.

* *Archæologia*, vol. xiv, p. 137.

over-sanguine for having sincerely entertained the Re-union idea,* which he evidently contemplated putting into practice when a fitting opportunity should arise. Of his zeal for true religion there can be little doubt.

On the other hand two obvious reasons existed why Pope Urban should send an Envoy to England. First, to appease the disquiet which controversies concerning the Catholic Oath had notoriously created; and, secondly, to obtain correct information regarding the conflicting opinions with reference to the necessity of continued Episcopal government for the English Roman Catholics, who, up to the year 1623, had been superintended by an arch-priest. But other causes evidently gave rise to this act. The Pope was most anxious to be accurately informed of the true state of the Church of England; and the conditional offer of a Cardinal's hat to Archbishop Laud, immediately on his elevation to the primatial see of Canterbury, together with the ventilation of the Re-union idea amongst Anglican prelates, by the Papal Envoy, sufficiently prove the Holy Father's sincerity, foresight and good-will on this subject.

Father Leander, an English Benedictine monk,† was first commissioned to come to

* Vide a Letter from King Charles to Captain Arthur Brett, the Queen's agent in Rome. State Papers A.D. 1635.

† F. Leander de S. Martino, Congregationis Angliæ Bene-

England on the mission indicated. He appears to have arrived in the spring of 1632, and to have lost no time in gathering together and transmitting any information that appeared to bear on the subjects entrusted to his charge. Prior to his arrival he had communicated with Mr. Secretary Windebank to obtain the King's permission, which the former conveyed in the following terms: "Though His Majesty likes not to give way to a dispensation in a case so directly repugnant to the laws of this realm; yet in regard of your solemn promise to carry yourself warily and without offence, His Majesty hath commanded me to let you know that he hath given you leave to repair hither into England, to see your friends and kindred whenever you shall think fit."* Father Leander was not very successful as regards the disputes which existed amongst Roman Catholics, for party-spirit ran high, and people took their sides both with deliberation and a hearty good-will. There were at least two parties in the disputes, apparently as much marked off from each other as the so-called "Carolind divines"

dictionorum Præses generalis.—Clarendon's State Papers, volume. This religious had been for some time an energetic defender of the oath of allegiance, in which work he had for his coadjutors of the same order, Fathers Preston and David. [Qy.? Father John Barns.] Later on, Father Leander gave up the position he had maintained, and submitted himself to the opinion and wishes of the Holy See.

* Clarendon's State Papers, vol. i. p. 72.

were from their Puritan opponents. Many members of the more ancient orders, which had recently been re-constituted in England, were in favour of a policy of moderation and peace. Father Francis of S. Clare (Christopher Davenport),"* was a signal instance of this: for he was a leader, of great learning, on the Roman Catholic part, publicly advocating an explanation of ambiguous formularies on both sides, in order that peace and Corporate Re-union might follow. His was no selfish policy. He sincerely desired the greatest good for the greatest number, and though a convert in early days from the Church of England to the English Roman Catholics, was enabled both by grace and common sense to allow something of good in the system he had rather hastily abandoned, and also to discern in Corporate Re-union —for which he so consistently and efficiently laboured—the only reasonable remedy for many of the increasing evils of which he was a constant spectator. Others of his order were like-minded.

Father Leander, however, should have the credit of planting the seed which afterwards took root downward, and would have borne fruit upward, but for the controversial blasts

* For a sketch of the life of this remarkable man the writer may be permitted to refer to his recent edition of Sancta Clara on the XXXIX. Articles. London: Hayes, 1865.

which checked its growth. His letters show him to have been earnest in the great cause, and to have unfolded it to many to whom it was at first distasteful, with due caution, great breadth of vision, and no common ability. The cruel persecutions of Roman Catholics by the State, however, turned out to be one insurmountable barrier to the acceptation and extension of the Re-union idea. Not but that the policy and principles of the Jesuits, afterwards condemned *totidem verbis* by Pope Clement the Fourteenth, tended considerably to bring about the passing of harsh statutes and the shameful cruelties which ensued. For political considerations had been so entirely mixed up with matters ecclesiastical, and the crucial question of the succession and right to the throne had been treated by several self-expatriated Englishmen during Elizabeth's reign in a tone and temper so unfortunate, so one-sided, and so calculated to create misunderstanding, that penal laws had been framed and put into operation with studied severity.

Yet for all this, Father Leander, an Englishman well-informed and impartial, owing, at one and the same time, a duty to his ecclesiastical superiors and owning a love for his country, could report as follows concerning the state of the Anglican Church in the early part of King Charles' reign:—

"They agree," he writes at vol. i., p. 207, of Clarendon's State Papers, "in all the doctrine of the Trinity, and Incarnation and true deity of our Blessed SAVIOUR; in the points of Providence, predestination, justification, necessity of good works, co-operation of freewill with the grace of GOD. They admit the first four general councils, the three authentic Symbols of the Apostles, Nice or Constantinople, and of St. Athanasius, as they are received in the Roman Church; they reverence the Primitive Church and unanimous consent of the ancient fathers, and all traditions and ceremonies which can be sufficiently proved by testimony of antiquity; they admit a settled Liturgy, taken out of the Roman Liturgy, distinction of orders, bishops, priests, and deacons, in distinct habits from the laity; and divers other points, in which no transmarine Protestants do agree."

Thus is learnt how faithful a statement of the position of the Church of England Father Leander made. Notwithstanding the depredations of the Reformation, and the unbridled licence which many had been glad to witness and participate in; enough remained, then as now, to mark off with a division-line strong and easily distinguishable, the ancient National Church (altered in some of its relations and modified in certain details of its practical polity), from the Calvinistic and Lutheran

communities of the continent, but still identical with the corporation which had been constituted of old by S. Augustine.

Union "seemeth possible enough," writes Father Leander, "if the points were discussed in an assembly of moderate men without contention or desire of victory, but out of a sincere desire of Christian Union; especially since the learneder sort of Protestants hold this difference to be no impediment to salvation, and grant besides that the Church of Rome is a true member of the Church of CHRIST."*

Here can be seen the influence not only of the school of which Bishop Andrewes was so remarkable a leader, but likewise the immediate result of Laud's teaching and example. This latter eminent and far-sighted prelate, had evidently grasped with accuracy the evils of disunion. Most of the Jacobean divines, apparently, could not look beyond the confines of the English nation in a consideration of ecclesiastical principles and present needs, their vision being cramped and circumscribed. The National Church, as was too painfully apparent, had been visibly separated from the rest of Western Christendom; and such separation had brought with it present and prospective evils of no small magnitude.

* Leander's Instructions for Reconciliation, p. 208, State Papers.

But it was reserved for a bishop of the succeeding reign, who saw at a glance that isolation was weakness and national insularity uncatholic, to stem the tide of a false policy, destroy a delusive hope, and lay the foundation of future restoration and Re-union for the common advantage of all. Archbishop Laud's communications with Davenport and Leander* are frequently referred to in the State Papers, while the interest that was taken in the great subject of Corporate Re-union by other bishops, such as Montague and Goodman, prove that a considerable section of the English people were neither unrepresented, in their peaceful desires, by those who ruled over them in a spiritual capacity, nor indifferent to the growing dangers of rebellion and anarchy, which could not be ignored.

And the same was the case with the King himself: "His Majesty," writes Sir F. Cottington to a Roman Catholic correspondent at Paris, "hath frequently expressed himself with satisfaction to the [Anglican] bishops that men on both sides have begun to reckon up the evils of religious divisions; and is himself heartily desirous of not only promoting an impartial toleration for the Catholics, but of seeking to

* Prynne and other Puritans constantly referred to the social intercommunion between Anglican and Roman Catholics with excessive dislike.

confer religious favours upon all his loving subjects, such as were once known to the whole nation when divisions were unknown."

Again such a passage as the following indicates that, on the Roman side, there were not wanting those "moderate Catholics" who could openly sympathise with the idea:—

"It seemeth very convenient that the Pope and Court be dealt withal not to vex moderate Catholics by censures or disgraces, since their end is to please GOD and the King, and promote the Union of the Catholic religion; and the means employed by them are, in their conscience lawful, and allowed of in other Catholic states."*

Leander's mission, though little was practically effected by it—at once produced several marked results in a short space of time. Those foreigners about the Queen's court, who, prior to their coming hither, had depicted to themselves a simple Protestant community, as heretical in its dogmas as it was schismatical in its practice, had not only found out their grave mistake; but, after making due enquiries for themselves, were evidently much impressed by the decision to which the Benedictine Father had deliberately arrived; while many of them were willing to entertain the Re-union idea with sincere impartiality. On the other hand,

* Instructions for Reconciliation, p. 208, vol. i., Clarendon's State Papers.

some who conscientiously adopted a different policy were evidently moved by the authentic and startling evidence in favour of the Church of England's claims, which Leander had so ably collected and efficiently arrayed: while the fact that Pope Urban the Eighth so soon saw fit to commission a second envoy to obtain fresh information and to continue the charitable labours of his predecessor in favour of Re-union, is an evidence that the Court of Rome was thoroughly sincere in its respect for the policy of Anglican prelates and their frequently-expressed desire for peace.

The second envoy was Father Gregory Panzani, an Oratorian priest of Arrezo,* who came over to England in the latter part of the year 1634. In an audience of the Queen, soon after his arrival, he presented a letter from Cardinal Barberini, who commended him to Her Majesty's protection, and set forth the double object of his mission. For some months he busied himself with making enquiries concerning the state of religion in England, and in carefully reporting it, through the cardinal in question, to the authorities in Rome. In this work he appears to have been impartial, faithful and explicit. The position and influence of

* So well and discreetly did this envoy perform his duties, that on his return to Rome he was made Canon of S. Lawrence in Damaso, and afterwards Bishop of Mileto.

the Church of England were accurately measured and described in language of moderation and charity. So that the correctness of previous reports from Leander was fully borne out. During the interviews with Mr. Secretary Windebank* the question of the Roman Catholic Oath was discussed, on which subject Panzani so expressed himself as to have offended his patron and adviser, Cardinal Barberini, greatly: but the point which more than any other was for some time under the consideration of these two distinguished persons, was the Corporate Re-union of the two communions. This may be seen from the following extract from Panzani's Memoirs, first published in 1793, and afterwards re-issued by the Rev. Joseph Berington in 1813:—

"This interview encouraged Windebank to treat more familiarly with Panzani, especially on the heads of religion. He told him that he really looked on himself to be a good Catholic; otherwise, that he should make no difficulty to bid adieu to all that was dear to him in order to purchase that name. He then instanced some things he boggled at in the Church of Rome, and named the article of communion in one kind, which he viewed as a scandalous practice, adding that if he were to be concerned

* Sir Francis Windebank had been made Secretary of State through Laud's influence in 1632.

in uniting the churches, the Catholics should disclaim that article as a preliminary. Panzani only replied that in his opinion the writers of the Church of Rome had given full satisfaction on that head. Windebank went on to another point: 'If,' said he, 'we had neither Jesuits nor Puritans in England, I am confident an Union might easily be effected.' 'As for the Jesuits,' answered Panzani, 'though they have always been regarded as a learned body, and very serviceable to the Church of Rome, yet it is not improbable but His Holiness would sacrifice their interest on the prospect of so fair an acquisition.' This answer, as it was unexpected, so did it seem to please the Secretary much. It was an instruction to him, that the Church of Rome did not depend on the Jesuits, who had always been odious to England—not upon account of their religion, in which they were on the same footing with the rest of that persuasion, but because they were represented as too busy in state affairs and in temporal matters, and too much concerned in the Gunpowder Plot; and that the moderate men of the Church of Rome had conceived a dislike to them on account of their aversion to Episcopacy, which they treated with disrespect, and viewed as inconsistent with their designs of always being at the head."—(Pp. 162, 163.)

A similar or even greater interest was taken

by those bishops who had so favourably heard the propositions of Father Leander. Amongst these Montague, Bishop of Chichester, a prelate of great learning, true Catholic principles and considerable discretion—the Archbishop of Canterbury being set aside—stood in the foremost rank. Having solicited a personal interview with Father Panzani, he immediately unfolded the plan for a Corporate Re-union between the churches, signifying his sincere desire for its accomplishment. He asserted that both the archbishops, together with Juxon, bishop of London, and other prelates,* with most of the more learned of the inferior clergy, marking the growing evils around, were quite prepared to allow the primacy, if not the spiritual supremacy of the Holy Father; adding that there seemed no other mode of ending the interminable disputes or of restoring religious peace, than by having recourse to some centre of ecclesiastical unity. As regards the questions of transubstantiation and communion in one kind—a dogma and a practice he was unprepared to approve, the Bishop recommended that moderate deputies of theological ability might be selected from both sides to consider such differences at a

* On another occasion Montague expressly informed Panzani, that only three out of the whole bench of bishops, viz.—Morton of Durham, Davenant of Salisbury, and Hall of Exeter could be looked upon as opposed to the scheme.—Vide *Memoirs*, p. 246.

Congress. France was suggested as a fitting country in which such a gathering could be made—on account of the alliance then existing between its Royal Family and the Stuarts. Other Anglican divines appear to have impressed similar sentiments on the envoy, who scrupulously transmitted all that bore on this great question to Rome. For awhile moderate counsels were in favour there, and Cardinal Barberini, having received, with great personal satisfaction* the information in question, was instructed not only to commission Panzani to commend the Anglican prelates and divines for their farsighted wisdom and Christian hope, but to be more earnest in enquiry and more energetic in collecting all such information as would enable the Roman authorities to give the question an impartial consideration and just judgment.

In a second interview with Panzani, the Bishop of Chichester "repeated his former discourse concerning Union, adding that he was continually employed in disposing men's minds for it both by words and writing, as often as he met with an opportunity. He then again mentioned the Pope's supremacy, whose feet he

* "Indeed nothing could redound more to the credit of my family, since it would be more agreeable to me that such an Union should be effected while I am at the head of affairs, than if the Barberinis, upon any other account, became masters of the whole kingdom."—*Letter from Cardinal Barberini to Panzani*, May, 8th 1636.

said he was willing to kiss, and acknowledge himself to be one of his children. He added, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was entirely of his sentiment."* With regard to the question of the validity of Anglican Orders, Panzani was apparently instructed to avoid giving any formal opinion on the point, though he appears to have allowed that the Anglican bishops probably possessed valid orders, while objecting to the use of the word "unquestionable" regarding them. The writer of the "Memoirs"—no doubt Panzani himself†—remarks that "from the whole it was pretty plain that there was a great inclination in many of the eminent Protestant clergy to re-unite themselves to the See of Rome; but they kept themselves to themselves, never imparting their minds to one another, much less to the king."‡ And from the same source may be learnt that "the king had been often heard to say that there was neither policy, Christianity, nor good manners, in not keeping a correspondence with Rome, by sending and receiving ambassadors, as was practised by other Courts§—a question salient and practical, which of all others must

* Panzani's Memoirs, pp. 241, 242.

† "If the author was not Panzani himself, he certainly was some other who had his memoirs and private notes in keeping."—*MS. Notes by Mr. Dodd subjoined to 'Memoirs.'*

‡ *Ibid.* p. 243.

§ Panzani's Memoirs, p. 247

have surely tended to a better understanding, if not in due course to a restoration of visible Unity. Moreover, as to the sincerity of the envoy himself,—whose means of knowing not only what the leading Roman Catholics of the day entertained on the subject, but also the true position and character of the Reformed Church of England—there can be little doubt; after both the explicit record of his inmost sentiments to his friend and patron the Cardinal, and the wise suggestion with which his letter concludes:—"If the affair of the Union should not succeed, I am content to grow grey in the drudgery towards accomplishing it. I will not make use of many words, but it appears to me that a mutual agency is the natural and the only way to promote it."*

Towards the close of the year 1636, Father Panzani returned to Rome. His mission had at least set forth to Re-unionists on both sides the great fact that, if no sacrifice of principle were required, peace might soon be had. Moreover it had likewise conclusively proved that the temper and Christian spirit which in Queen Mary's reign had animated Pope Julius the Third, in his well known Bull, *Dilecte fili Noster*, for reconciling England and rehabilitating, not re-ordaining the clergy—was imitated to the full by the reigning pontiff, as well as by

* Letter to Cardinal Barberini, July 17, 1636.

those who had more immediately commissioned Leander and Panzani to undertake so important a work.

Both on the Anglican and Roman side, however, there were two sections of people, powerful and energetic, to whom, for very different reasons, the idea of Re-union was distasteful; and who consequently allowed no means to be un-used for damaging the progress of the work. These were respectively the Puritans and the Jesuits. It would have been exceedingly obvious, even to the most shortsighted, that if a Re-union had been effected, Puritanism must have suffered very considerably by such a change. Ecclesiastical authority would have stepped in once more, with a clear voice and definite policy, to condemn both the exaggerations of truth and the overgrown errors of an age which was rapidly becoming out of joint, mainly through the changes that had been wrought in England's relation with other Christian countries nearly a century before. When, therefore, it began to be bruited about that both Roman and Anglican clergy were privately engaged in the furtherance of such a scheme, and that the Pope of Rome had so far sanctioned the plan, as to have commissioned two special envoys to enquire into its feasibility, Puritanism forgetting its prayers and praises, took to curses and strong adjectives. One Cook protested against the

negociations to the king in person, while the tongues and pens of others moved with precision and effect—all, whether speeches or sermons, in one strain,—a strain of strong condemnation for those who were advocates of the Re-union movement.

So, too, of the Jesuits. From the outset of these negociations for peace, the members of that distinguished society had opposed it on all hands and at every step. Father Leander's letters sufficiently indicate the difficulties he himself had to contend against, in inducing the authorities at Rome to understand the existence of a desire for peace on the part of a considerable section of the Church of England. For it was easy to point both to penal laws and cruel persecutions to prove the contrary; while the timidity of some, the indifference of others, and the checks and counterchecks which were continually cropping up, must have rendered it no easy task for those who were interested in its promotion to make a clear case at Rome. Still patient people, hopeful in faith and sincerity, made the attempt; and so merited for themselves the promised blessing of the peacemakers.

Had the general body of Roman Catholics, who so bravely clung to their ancient belief been enabled to ally themselves actively with the learnedest and most farsighted members of

the National Church for the common weal, in order by co-operation to obtain the greatest good for the greatest number; in some probability the immediate evils of the Rebellion would not only have been altogether avoided, but still greater evils in the future securely overcome.

And now the history of the period specially dwelt upon, seems to be strangely reproducing itself. The old divisions have still continued, though happily Persecution has given place to Toleration. The wall of separation is not yet thrown down, nor are Peace and visible Unity obtained; yet, on each side men are both learning to understand each other better, and to undertake work with the express aim of assisting in the fulfilment of Edward the Confessor's well-known and striking prophecy. Both Roman Catholics and Anglicans are to be found who, having realized the idea of Re-union, are aiming to inform their co-religionists of the advantages of such a policy. Amongst the former a school has sprung into existence, which though small is active, and will before long make its influence felt, both amongst Roman Catholics and elsewhere. On the Anglican side, the Re-union movement is growing in strength daily. Never since the

division in the sixteenth century have so many been found to co-operate for the attainment of such a work. Nor are the ideas of unity now such as were current amongst Anglican divines in the Caroline era. The promoters of the present movement, unlike the more thoughtful of that eventful period, look beyond the confines of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and would not be satisfied, even if it could be surely attained, with a unity which should only embrace members of the Church of England and its dependent communities—looking rather to the Church throughout the world, and praying that the separated portions of the great Christian Family may again, in GOD's time and way, become visibly One. The more farsighted, marking the signs of the times, behold in this strange desire for a truce and peace that continues to spring up on so many sides, the only sound remedy for many pressing evils and the true and most certain cure for political complications and social difficulties. A similar opposition, no doubt quite conscientious, has arisen to the movement now going on. Antagonists, as of old, are not quite fair; sometimes exaggerating facts and difficulties, or deprecating what need not be any compromise of Truth. Some would set honest aspirations in a grotesque form before the higher authorities of the Latin Church, or

advocate the use of the sledge-hammer of condemnation, as in Sancta Clara's case, for those who are calmly condemned unheard. As in the days of King Charles, however, the power of influence lies with men of moderation. Such are looked upon to act openly, with sincerity, and in good faith; so that former prejudices removed, and persecutions forgotten, those who hold the undoubted Faith of the undivided Christian Family, may assist in the great and glorious work in hand. What has recently been effected in a short time, by a few, is but an earnest of what may be done on a grand scale in the future through the co-operation of more, if no narrow policy of suspicion and want of faith step in to hinder the work of preparation going on upon all sides, or to mar an undertaking that might have been accomplished two centuries ago, but which seems to have been reserved by Providence for completion as a triumph and a glory in the rapidly-advancing years of this later age.

VII.

DEFECTS AND THEIR REMEDY IN RE-UNION.

A DESIRE to feel ourselves the owners of something superior to the possessions of our neighbour, and to enjoy the self-complacency to which such superiority gives rise, is one of the most universal infirmities of our nature. We see it in its progressive stages, only changing the object, from the earliest infancy upward. "Your doll—your pony—your dress—your profession—your estate—your child—your religion—is not half as good as mine." It may be really true, but the actual fact makes no difference. The child will assert that its *own* doll is all the better for being plainly dressed, and the small pony is much prettier than the large one; the dress, the profession and the estate must not be valued by their worth in money; the child has qualities that outweigh all others, and the religion is

the only one that has come direct from GOD, and is free from the corruptions of man. There is no doubt a difference between saying—"It is the best because it is mine," and "It is mine because it is the best," but the two ideas are more closely interwoven than men are disposed to allow, and show themselves very clearly at times to be so, in the eyes of an impartial bystander. "My father loves me better than he loves you," is a domestic heresy which every Christian parent summarily puts down; its theological counterpart has been too often encouraged and sanctioned. We see it in its most glaring form among those who can derive a selfish enjoyment from the thought that they are safe for eternity, an enjoyment which is actually heightened by the remembrance that the majority of those around them are lost souls. "We are among the blessed few." "Only six people in England can show as fine a set of diamonds as mine;"—or, "only myself and three more were admitted to that privilege." Is not the basis of all alike selfish and unsound? Catholic Christianity teaches the reverse of all this. Our object is not to save our own souls, and if possible be among the happy few for our own sakes. Our object is to carry out our Redeemer's will, by adding in our own person one more to the multitude in whom His Nature is reproduced, and one more to the members of

His Body, but for His Sake primarily, and only accidentally for our own.

Englishmen in general have long been in the habit of piquing themselves upon possessing the best form of religion existing in the world. Their Liturgy and Articles they have devoutly believed to be the most primitive and scriptural extant; their form of worship the most acceptable to GOD; their clergy the most learned and deservedly-beloved of all denominations of Christian ministers; their parochial system the wisest possible in theory, and better carried out in practice than in any other country; their devotion all the better for being moderate and sensible, eminently calculated to make respectable and prosperous families, avoiding enthusiasm and all other forms of fanaticism. Their church preserves better order than other "Protestant" bodies, and it avoids the superstitions of Roman and Greek Christianity. In fact it hits upon just the right mean between teaching too much and too little; between unbelief and too great a devotion to the unseen, between living entirely for this world, and neglecting it for the next.

Being such a perfect system, it must seem astonishing that the poor do not appreciate it more, if it were not assumed that it is impossible for the uneducated to be capable of understanding its advantages. Its Liturgy might be

perfect, and written in harmonious words beautiful to the scholar's ear, but it is not the language in which the uneducated mind can alone offer its heartfelt but clumsy worship. Its Articles might as well have been written in Hebrew for anything the poor can make of them; the clergy have often been kind and benevolent friends, and might satisfy the wants of a soul that could be satisfied with prayers couched in general terms, and with consolation and advice that appealed to the intellect; but those among the poor who in their earnestness had forgotten their conservatism, looked about helplessly for something—they knew not what—but a something which they embraced rapturously when they thought they had found it in the form of Wesleyanism. The moderation, the respectability, the avoidance of enthusiasm and extremes, were just the things they found fault with, or rather which did not win their admiration or their confidence. The poor want something they can see and feel, and they have been met (practically though not theoretically) by the Reformed Church of England with nothing that they can see, and their feelings have been only appealed to through their dull understandings, and consequently have not been reached at all. Their instinctive conservatism has hitherto kept the majority of those that stay connected (for we

cannot say in communion) with the English Church, but few clergy would care to calculate how many in their parishes would remain faithful, if some other religious body were placed in possession of the churches and tithes. In the class above the labourer, embracing all grades of tradesmen, the conservative spirit has always been less apparent. The facts that they are struggling to rise to a rank above them, and that the beginnings of education have shaken their belief in the mystic superiority which real rank retains over its inferiors, have greatly tended to encourage notions of an universal equality, and a disbelief in all superiority that cannot be reduced to something tangible. Money is essentially tangible, therefore they respect money. A religion which claims to have a priesthood whose authority over themselves is founded on something intangible, has no charms for them, and so the choice of a dissenting minister, who can be followed or not at will, appears to them more consistent with habits of mind which will only acknowledge a superiority if the individual can show that he personally deserves it. The materializing influences of trade also conduce to make Puritanism the most popular religion among the middle class.

The upper ranks have till lately adhered to the English Church under the form in which

she has been practically presented to them during the last three centuries. Now, increase of devotion is drawing one class to desire something higher and deeper than the conventionalities which satisfied past generations, and increase of thought is driving another class to demand (in the absence of belief in dogmatic authority) proofs such as cultivated intellect alone can require, and such as the Catholic Church was never intended to supply. The consequence is on one side a reversion to the central Christian Church, of which the English Church is perceived to be but a local phase, and on the other, the repudiation of a system which to those who deny the perpetual Presence of the Holy Spirit, only presents a mass of unsupported and old-fashioned assertions. The third or Puritanical party is rapidly becoming absorbed into the other two. The piety of many of its members (which has hitherto been its support), is now passing away, or perhaps it would be truer to say that that which is genuine among them is receiving its reward by conversion to a higher faith.

But while Rationalists are discontented with the English Church both practically and theoretically, and while her system requires re-arranging to meet the wants of the poor, those who on the orthodox side perceive her deficiencies, perceive also that her essential

constitution requires no change. And not only so, but that the practical improvements they desire to effect are alone those which harmonize with the principles she has professed from the very first, both during her days of communion with Rome and subsequently also. Their discontent is not with the Church, but with the practical character which heretical members have given her. Her desire has been to believe and practise what the Church of CHRIST has always from the first believed and practised; and by her decided command that none calling themselves her teachers shall presume to teach otherwise than the Ancient Fathers have taught, she points to the standard to which all her faithful members are bound to conform themselves. But it is increasingly found that the mistakes made at the Reformation and the time-serving Erastianism which has been her curse since that time, have injured the spiritual life of her members; and with the decline of piety has come the decline of truth, until now in utter defiance of her command, men calling themselves her priests preach in every church doctrines that are in the most glaring opposition to the doctrines of the Ancient Fathers and of the Scriptures also. Perhaps in no communion in the world will you hear such contrariety of doctrine taught by various individuals as in the Anglican Church; and that, not because such

contradictions are admissible, but because she has lost or never possessed the power of definitely educating her teachers in a certain faith, and has lost also her power of discipline, by which she could at once deprive of their commission those who cease to teach her doctrines.

Catholics awaking to a sense of these defects, would naturally look with admiration at the only other body of Christians in the country claiming their allegiance on behalf of the Church;—a body which they see to be strong on the point where our own weakness is so apparent.

Roman Catholicism justifies its present opposition to the Anglican Church on the ground that at the Reformation, England apostatized from the Faith, and its Church ceased to be part of the true Church of God. Since that time two rival priesthoods and subsequently two rival Episcopates have been contending with one another in this country. Two rival Altars have offered the One Sacrifice; the priests of one too often denying Its existence there, and the priests of the other contemptuously encouraging them in their unbelief, and calling all men to their Altar as the only reality. Both have in ignorance contended against the truth as well as against the error of each other's systems, and meanwhile the devil has reaped

that rich harvest of souls, for the sake of which he has originated and fostered the unhappy divisions which we deplore. The Roman and Anglican Communions united would in a very short space rally round them all the piety of the country, and we doubt not that when the right moment arrives it will be accomplished. Until the country shall be ripe for union, we see that it could only be effected by the loss of many souls dear to GOD. So we patiently await His good time.

Meanwhile on our side has arisen the first and most important change of thought;—a consciousness of our own defects. At present this is almost entirely confined to ourselves. A few daring individuals on the Roman side have ventured to suggest that all is not perfection there, but they are so decidedly silenced by those in authority, that it requires at present more courage to speak out than can reasonably be expected from any large number among them. It is very curious to watch the way in which directly a difference of opinion arises in the Roman body it is hushed up and treated as if it did not exist, although it is very well known to do so. Among us it would be trumpeted in all the leading articles of all the papers, energetically fought over in the correspondence, illustrated by pamphlets (each more plain-spoken than the last) until by degrees

Truth prevails and Right asserts itself. Being what Englishmen are, this is by far the best way to settle differences and bring truth to the surface, and it would be found the only way by English Roman Catholics themselves, if they were a more influential body. It is foreign, not English policy to put a fair face upon your affairs whatever they may be in reality, and this policy, through the intervention of foreign influences, has too much affected the Anglo-Roman body. But to the uninitiated this produces an appearance of unanimity, at first sight very attractive, especially to those who knowing the Faith to be but one, are wearied out with the contradictory statements and laxity of Protestantism, and feel the necessity that teachers authorized by GOD should all speak the truth and be in accordance with it and with one another.

In earlier days this conviction led many among us hastily to abandon one Communion for the other; but now with increased confidence in the strength of our own position, and decreased confidence in our own perfections, we naturally compare systems with that other part of the Christian family which we feel to be teaching in the main the same faith, among the same race, in the same state of society, and which has therefore to contend with the same difficulties. It is only a superficial observer who

could believe that all is perfection on the Roman side, and failure on our own: but we see that there are points in which their system is far superior to ours, and points on which ours is superior to theirs, so that when the blessed day of Union comes, we shall find that both sides are capable of being benefited by the results of the other's experience.

At first sight the unanimity of teaching in the Roman Communion seems to be one of the most enviable advantages possessed by that body and lost by ourselves. In almost all the Roman Churches in this country you will hear either the same doctrines, or at all events doctrines which are not inconsistent with one another. There is but one opinion, one teaching about the sacraments and about every other point of Christian doctrine which has been definitely settled by their Church. The clergy are all taught and trained in the same system, and they feel that whenever members of their flock are transferred from one abode to another, wherever they find a Roman Catholic congregation they will find the truth. There may be differences, but they are of little practical value except among the educated classes, and they refer to matters (which except in the judgment of a few ultramontane enthusiasts) the Church has not dogmatically decided. Naturally they look upon us as a

communion possessing a creed entirely at the mercy of individual clergy, and many among ourselves have felt the same. But two considerations must have their due weight. First, the fact that unanimity of teaching by no means ensures acceptance of that which is taught. Where the Roman Catholic is the national religion, the majority of the laity outwardly do not oppose, but in reality disregard it, and among the priests, the belief and the teaching do not by any means always correspond. And, secondly, it must be remembered, as we before observed, that the commands of the English Church are quite stringent enough; and that they are disregarded, is the fault of her sons. The rule laid down is—"ne quid unquam doceant (concionatores) pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris aut Novi Testamenti, quodque exilla ipsa doctrina Catholici Patres et veteres episcopi collegerint." If this canon were obeyed, there would be as little diversity of doctrine in English pulpits as there is in English confessionals; but having been allowed for so long to be utterly disregarded, our restoration to the creed which it implies must precede any attempt at enforcing a uniform standard of doctrine. The time may come when the Roman Church also may be prevented from enforcing unanimity,

although her teaching, like our own, will remain unchanged.

It would be foolish to speculate on what might have been the result had laxity never prevailed: but without defending the existence of heretical teaching, the Catholic movement has practically been advantaged by the antecedent attachment of such a large proportion of the educated classes to the Church of England, even though they accommodated her words to their own views of truth. They learnt real truth unconsciously in the Creeds and Catechism, and that teaching has proved a ground-work to which fuller knowledge has been gradually added. The people of England can never be forced into the truth. It must commend itself to the understandings of the upper classes, and be taken on trust by the lower from those whom they respect and love.

There are advantages and disadvantages on both sides;—whether an upper crust of belief keeps in control the seething masses below, or whether there should be a slowly consolidating formation, compact as far as it goes, but affecting the surface last. It is better for us at all events that we should be as we are, than that there should be a faithful few, and the rest driven to unbelief, ungodliness, and more degraded forms of heresy. It rests now with a man's conscience alone whether he, professing

himself a member of the English Church, will conform to her teaching or set it at defiance. The honest straightforwardness of Englishmen will in the long run lead them to leave a communion with whose principles they cannot agree, while those who do not care sufficiently about the matter will insensibly follow the creed of those who do, and are in a better position for receiving the truth while they are in even nominal connection with a body every day becoming more permeated with true teaching. The first thing to be done is just what we are doing;—to bring forward the long forgotten principles which actuate the English in common with every other Catholic communion, and leave it to men's common sense and honesty to perceive the truth of our assertions, and openly accept them or withdraw their allegiance from the body that upholds them. Of course in this matter a Church established and a Church dis-established are not on equal terms! The temporal advantages are great in one case, and naturally induce all those who are weak in faith or who take but little interest in religion to conform to the most respectable and powerful creed, accommodating its requirements as far as possible to their own principles! The absurdity of supposing that you can belong to a body whose very existence is its belief, without holding that belief, is in reality

much greater than it appears, except in a glaring case like Dr. Colenso's. His professing still to be a member of a religious body whose every fundamental tenet he rejects, is not in the least less ludicrous and contemptible than it would be for a Roman Catholic still to consider himself as such after he had in reality become a Mohammedan. The discipline enforced in the Roman Church would hinder such a case as Dr. Colenso's from existing openly, though it is notorious that in secret many such men have lived and died in her Communion. Among laymen also many are to be found without any concealment of their views who call themselves Roman Catholics, who receive extreme unction in their last unconscious moments, and so become entitled to Christian burial. Still we have not the least wish to deny the superior condition, so far, of a Communion which has but one uniform teaching. The only question is whether it would effect the conversion of England to the Catholic Faith, if we could make the teaching of our priests at once orthodox and uniform, and we cannot help feeling that in all probability it would defeat the whole movement. If a Roman priest could be at once substituted for an Anglican in every church in England, the country would become infidel in the course of a very few years.

In other countries the upper classes do not

openly rebel against that which is taught them if they do not like it; they keep their own disbelief, shrug their shoulders and hold their tongues. Nothing will ever make English people hold their tongues. If they have grievances or do not like the teaching they receive, all the world will speedily hear of it, and they obstinately refuse to be taught any more. As a mass they are a religious people, and they want a religion which shall not be a sham. External, and conventional observances may suit a lazy people, but would never obtain in England, even with the irreligious. Religion must be practical as well as imaginative, and it must offer them something better in the other world than the miserable hopes held out by Protestantism. Their great prejudice against the Catholic Faith arises from their dread of idolatry, and from the discouragement of intellectual and social progress which they perceive to exist in Catholic countries. The first is a misconception, which however, the popular practices abroad have to a great extent justified, and for which intercourse with really pious and intelligent Romans is the best cure. The second they will also soon perceive to be a merely modern and accidental phase, for they must on consideration acknowledge that in the science and progress of the Middle Ages the Church was the great leader, while the religion

then prevalent was far more really the faith we are trying to restore than its later innovations.

There is no doubt, on the other hand, that modern Romanism has proved itself as incapable of dealing with the developed human intellect as it has shown its power of dealing with the affections and senses. Established, or not established, whether against or in favour of their worldly interests, it enlists the sympathies of the unprejudiced poor, and the feminine mind in general, because neither of these are influenced through their understandings, but through the affections and imagination. But with reasoning beings it has not known how to deal, and the training given to its priests has not enabled them to demonstrate that the Catholic Faith is the only one that will satisfy the reason. Intellectual men have faith and affections as well as women, but they are accustomed to test every impulse by their reason, and if not satisfied to go no further. Rome has hoped to check the enquiry it could not on modern principles answer, by treating enquiry as a sin, and all but placing Faith in opposition to Reason. It has encouraged the people in what Dr. Newman calls "puerile absurdities," forgetting that whatever may be the feelings excited by a doll dressed up in tinsel and crinoline among the vulgar, it can occasion nothing but

disgust and contempt to an educated man. Can any one acquainted with the Continent deny that, were a pestilence, for instance, to break out in a city, the carrying of some such image in procession would very probably be the special devotion with which such a crisis would be met? And can any one wonder that any mind which has learned to think, should at once feel that if this represents the great realities which are to be our stay in affliction and comfort in death, religion is only fit for babies and fools. It would of course be said that all this is but the embodiment and outward expression of a request that our LORD'S dear Mother would help us in our prayers for deliverance, but we know it is not so regarded by those who share in the act or by those who despise it, and that it is the only known way that now has power to attract the people at all. Their conceptions of the unseen are low, and the Church lowers her forms and ceremonies to meet them, instead of endeavouring to elevate them. We have fallen into the opposite error, and here again both sides may gain a hint from each other. Education must spread. The Church cannot hinder it if she would, and once was foremost in promoting it herself. But now, as each rank passes more and more into the class of thinkers, it loses faith in these childish ceremonies, and with it faith also in the

great verities of religion. In England the Roman Church has presented a very different appearance. It has regained its hold on many educated men and women of late years, because their minds have been first led intellectually by ourselves to receive the truth which Romans and Anglicans teach in common. And among the poor it is the Mass, and not the dressed-up doll, that embodies to them their faith and hope, and that presents to them the great central mystery of religion in a form in which it can be grasped by the most ignorant, and which also opens out visions of Infinite Majesty, satisfying and raising ever upward the most powerful and reflective mind. Unquestionably, the prominence given in the Roman Communion to the All-sufficient Sacrifice, and the practical way in which all are taught to plead It daily, is the grand point on which we have been most mistaken and defective, and have glaringly departed from the primitive customs to which we so unhesitatingly defer.

There can be no doubt that the Sacred Mysteries constituted *the* Service of the Ancient Church, and that it must be the same with ourselves before we can justify our claim to the possession of primitive Christianity. The Anglican *tells* his people of the Sacrifice of CHRIST'S Death, but it is only of late that he is learning to offer It, and the poor in the

English Church have at present no idea how to bring down Its blessings upon themselves. But our having locked up and neglected our treasure is, we thank GOD, a different thing from having lost it, and now thousands are learning to appreciate the restoration of the Daily Sacrifice, where a few years ago there were only hundreds who had learnt that some sort of worship should be given to GOD every day, and imagined Matins and Evensong to be the most acceptable daily offering. Still we are far from having generally discovered that the way to bring our people to the Cross of CHRIST is by showing forth the LORD'S Death; while from the example of our Roman brethren we may well learn, if we are wise, the secret of attaching the poor to their Faith, as they may learn from us the arguments that are rapidly bringing the educated and refined in England to accept that creed which the same classes abroad are as rapidly abandoning.

The practice of enforcing that which is desirable by a law which it is sin to violate, is the course adopted in many cases by the Roman body, where knowledge of the human mind and its tendencies shows that this is not the way to attain the spirit of the desired object, although it may compel an external and unwilling observance. Parents often make the same mistake in education, and endeavour to compel

by a positive order, not knowing how otherwise to bend the child's will in the right direction. An unwilling obedience reacts in a contrary impulse when time or over tension have led to a rejection of the authority which imposes it. Confession for example among ourselves has not only been a purely voluntary act, but it has been sought in the face of the greatest difficulties, and at the cost of extreme suffering by hundreds and thousands among us of late years. It has been almost forced upon the clergy, and every year sees the number of penitents increase. With us, as a rule, only the contrite come to it, but under the Roman system, penitent and impenitent must come alike if they wish to preserve a religious exterior, or neglect it altogether, to the great injury of their consciences. Such an act when it becomes a mere formality cannot but do more harm than good, and yet a state of things in which it is expected from every one would be most beneficial, if it could be brought about, as it is likely to be among ourselves, by general feeling alone. Roman priests themselves have long ago complained that the great repugnance of Englishmen to confession is one of the great hindrances to the progress of the Catholic Faith. How then must they wonder at the voluntary increase of the practice in our Communion with no external pressure at all!

But on the other hand a rule, not enforced by penalties, becomes practically only a recommendation, and to this, in wise hands, confession in the Roman Church, like communion in our own, really comes. The absence of discipline in this case is an advantage. Every parishioner is ordered to communicate three times a year, and if he cannot do so with a quiet conscience, to come to his priest for confession. This is our rule. Every Roman is ordered to confess and communicate at least once a year, but as we all know, great numbers of Roman laymen never do confess, just as great numbers of English Churchmen never communicate. Yet a discipline which would either compel Communion or formally excommunicate would do far more harm than good. Sacrilegious communions or confessions would be and are the results of compulsion. But a rule which perpetually reminds people of what they ought to be and to do, and shames them into endeavouring to act up to it, is a great blessing, and if that is what is meant by compulsion, it is an excellent thing. The immense advantage a priest has in guiding the souls of a flock who are in the habit of coming to confession is incalculable. What does an English non-confessing priest know of his people's soul? He may live for years in the same parish with them, and be no more assistance to them in their

spiritual life on the last day than on the first. He may know his own soul thoroughly, and so be able to give general advice, but in the hand to hand struggle with some definite form of evil which is involved in every inner life he can do nothing. And so he sees them year after year, not falling away perhaps, but making no progress; listening to his exhortations and theoretically agreeing with them, but withheld by some cause, at which he never arrives, from following out his teaching. And this in some of the best of cases. In the Roman Church, the same person might continue in the unsatisfactory state described for a year. Easter will arrive, and conformity to the prescribed standard will perhaps bring such a person, though very reluctantly, to a confession intended to be as formal as possible. But he finds that his priest has watched him anxiously for the past year, and seizes this opportunity for sympathy and judicious counsel, which are almost certain to draw out the real cause of the sluggish indifference of the soul. Generally the Anglican, as having a higher and more delicate cast of mind, and keener perceptions, could do this better than the Roman, but he has not the opportunity. A sermon and a pastoral visit are his only resources, and in neither can he gain any insight into the definite evil. Of course in the Roman Communion these oppor-

tunities are constantly thrown away, and the act becomes the merest formality on both sides; but still there is the machinery ready to work easily and naturally at any moment. The non-confessing Anglican only knows the glaring public faults of his people and especially of his poor, while even from formal confessions the Roman learns much more, and if at length the soul turns to GOD in earnest, he does not come to its history as a stranger. Enforced confession, to which absolution should be by no means a necessary or even frequent adjunct, would be more in accordance with the ancient practice, and diminish many of the objections brought against the modern Roman practice. But, as before observed, Englishmen will never be compelled to anything. We know how the attempt to compel the use of the surplice in the pulpit was received, and we see also how the use of vestments has been voluntarily extended since that time. In this matter Rome may learn a useful lesson from Anglicanism.

The same principle will apply to the Celibacy of the Clergy. The true policy is to convince men's minds, and teach them to see its advantages for themselves, and not to force it upon all alike, high-toned and low-toned, men of the world and saints, without distinction or possibility of change. To force men to celibacy is like forcing girls into the religious life, if it happens to be

thought advisable for them. The fact that single life is higher than married life does not affect the question. In a small body such as the Roman Communion is at present in England, and with English temperaments and society to deal with, no doubt the compulsory system answers well; but it would be a very different thing if a priesthood had to be found in sufficient numbers to supply every parish in England; and the result, if here the clergy became, or were thought to be, an immoral body, would be ruin to the Christianity of the country. High professions and low morality will never be tolerated by the English nation. A low standard, acted up to, will work more good than a high standard followed inconsistently by those who advocate it.

It is of course constantly said that no man is forced to celibacy because no man is forced to become a priest, and that the principle is the same as that of the religious life, in which we do not object to vows. The objection is not to the vow, but to the invariable necessity for making the vow, and perhaps the simplest answer to the supposed analogy is that there are many men who would make valuable priests in their way, though not of course of the highest type, yet who are not fit for a celibate life. It would be a contradiction in terms to say that there were also women fit for the

religious life who were not fitted for celibacy. The nun's is a marriage with which the idea of any other becomes sacrilegious, but the same cannot be said of the priest's ordination. Nevertheless, of the two evils—universal marriage or compulsory celibacy, the last is the least so far as the people are concerned. But by steadily regarding and treating the married priest as a man who has chosen the lower instead of the higher path, the clergy might easily be brought to aspire to the life without the injury that often arises when it is forced upon them. The theory of a country like England served by thousands of self-devoted priests whose hearts and lives are given to their work alone, is of course very lovely, but impossible to realize, except perhaps in times of persecution, and even then, the general tone of society cannot be hindered from taking effect on the priesthood.

Although with more hesitation, we may yet venture to doubt whether the extreme stringency of the rule for fasting Communion might not be relaxed, or dispensations given with more facility; and also, whether, as at present observed, the spirit of the rule has not been sacrificed to the letter. Surely its object must be to prevent the irreverence of communion soon after a meal, from which every believer in the Real Presence must shrink; but there is nothing in the present Roman rule to hinder a

person from taking a hearty supper at eleven in the evening, and communicating as soon after midnight as he pleases. Surely the mere striking of the clock cannot change the actual fact! And on the other hand, we constantly hear of sick persons deprived of communion day after day, because it has been necessary to administer a dose of medicine early in the morning. It was one of the saddest facts recorded of Cardinal Wiseman's death bed, that his earnest desire for the most precious consolation of illness should have been so often denied him for this very reason.* The universal practice of the Church is of course an argument deserving all reverence, but setting aside as exceptional the first communion of the Apostles, the celebration at Emmaus may surely be as safely appealed to in this behalf as in defence of Communion under one species alone. But the unbending stiffness of Roman rule in this and in other cases, seems to defeat its own object at times. All invalids must have felt the distress of having mind and body so stupified with exhaustion, that, though the essential benefit may be the same, all comfort from the precious act of Reception is destroyed, from the mind being nearly in a state of unconsciousness, or worse still, assaulted by every kind of evil imagination; and so irreverence is caused by a rule which had reverence originally for its object.

All attempts to make Communion compulsory in England, practically have led to such unhappy abuses, that we have been thankful to repeal them, or let them fall into abeyance. To enforce an act where you cannot also secure the spirit which alone hinders it from being an injury to the soul, can only be permissible under exceptional circumstances, and it becomes a still more dangerous practice if worldly advantages are attached to the act. Time was among ourselves when Communion was required of those who were elected to certain offices of the State, and we would thankfully leave in oblivion the sacrilegious acts to which the requirement gave rise. Continental history is full of equally terrible instances of the sin caused by treating Sacraments as court ceremonies. It might at one time have been thought that men would have conscience enough to decline secular offices if they could not fulfil the religious obligations imposed by them, but the history of the world is a sufficient refutation of the idea, if refutation were required. To recommend and yet leave the conscience to itself in regarding and disregarding the recommendation, is a surer way of attaining the end than by any stringency of rule.

Prayers in the vernacular have always been considered by ourselves as an unmitigated

advantage. Perhaps they may be, for those offices in which the people are required to join. But many, we should think, would hesitate before they came to the conclusion that the Mass would be more edifying in a tongue which would make perpetual demands on the attention and understanding. There is an exceeding comfort in feeling the adaptability of that Office to the pressing wants of the soul whatever they may be at the moment. Are we penitent, thankful, or in the midst of fiery trial? There is the One Great Offering ready for all our necessities, and we are free to accompany It with such devotions as are best adapted to us at the time. The prayers of the priest would but distract us if we could hear or understand them. Vernacular hymns are, we are told, coming into general use, and so it must be with all prayers in which the voice (and therefore of course the understanding) is intended to unite. "*Ora pro me*," although the meaning may be perfectly understood, will never burst from the sorrowful heart with the earnestness of "Pray for me." We are not speaking of those with whom Latin is as familiar as English, but in other cases conventional forms will be forsaken in the deepest needs of the soul. In this respect again on both sides there may be something to learn.

When or on what terms the two Churches

may yet amalgamate, it is impossible at present to tell. Probably, in the memorable words of Dr. Newman, "when England and Rome, having the same faith and centre of unity, are each allowed to hold their own theological opinions." Among the opinions which England will never receive must come the infallibility of Papal Encyclics. Among a certain class of Roman Catholics it is scarcely possible to say a word on any question of the day about having some Papal decree quoted, with the arbitrary assertion that some Pope having said so-and-so, the matter has been infallibly settled for us if we are Roman Catholics. Most unquestionably in England, the extinction of this modernism will be one of the advantages Romans will derive from Re-union. Anglo-Romans are only as yet recovering from the torpor of centuries, stretching their cramped limbs, and too thankful to find that they may express their opinions without being convicted for high treason; and they have not as yet allowed their ideas to have proper range and freedom. But as their right and power to be socially equal with and among other English gentlemen returns to them, so will also their desire to hold their own opinions on politics, education, and metaphysics, and without being instantly overwhelmed with the crabbed dicta of a foreign prince, who cannot possibly understand English requirements. They feel too that

the petition so often addressed to the Pontiff in the records of Modern History: "Speak to my brother that he divide the inheritance with me," has not been answered as CHRIST Himself answered it, and that it would have been better for the Church and better for the world if it had been otherwise. Headship of the Church is one thing, and despotic government of it is another. If some schools of Roman belief were to be followed, we must send to Rome on the occurrence of almost every event, to know whether we were to like or dislike, applaud or condemn, or at all events hold ourselves ready to change our minds as soon as we found that the Pope's opinion did not coincide with our own.

It has long been a hackneyed boast of Protestants that the free circulation of the Holy Scriptures is an effectual hindrance to Popery. It must throw them out of their calculations to find those who study it most earnestly, returning, in a great measure from the study of the Bible, to those very "errors" which it was supposed to overthrow. None read the Scriptures, or meditate on them more constantly and prayorfully than do Anglo-Catholics; and yet passage after passage opens upon them daily with deeper Catholic meanings, with confirmations of every doctrine and practice received by the Universal Church,

and with a perception of deep and symbolic allusions to wonderful mysteries and perfected cycles of doctrine which the duller and less spiritual faith of Protestants fails to behold. They see but little in passages where Catholics see much, and are contented with a surface meaning where those with a keener spiritual insight discern depths which the finite mind can never fully sound. An intelligent and humble study of the Holy Scriptures under the guidance of the Ancient Church is all that we need for the acceptance of the latest inspirations of GOD the HOLY GHOST. But meantime, apart from this, what an incalculable advantage do not our devout poor derive from their familiarity with the words of holy Writ! Prayers, psalms, texts and promises are their comfort in sickness and sorrow, to an extent we never find among the devout Roman poor. They on their side enjoy other blessings, but there is not the least reason why all should not be combined. Will they appreciate the Mass less because they know S. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews by heart? Will the Holy Apostles become less dear as friends and intercessors from the study of the words that the HOLY SPIRIT spoke by their mouths? Or can it be that Roman authorities fear the result of the discovery that S. Peter did not preside at the First General Council, or that there are other facts which it

might not be well to bring prominently forward? The truth need never fear any amount of investigation, and what would we more?

The explanations which must take place previously to Re-union, on the true position occupied by the Saints and Our Lady, will doubtless correct much that is amiss on the Roman side as well as on our own. In England it is plain that one section of that body is no longer satisfied with the devotion theoretically and practically given to the Saints by the Council of Trent and the last generation of their divines. The change in later editions of the "Garden of the Soul," and the inconsistency of its earlier language with recent publications, indicate wide differences of opinion. The weakness of the newer school when they attempt to defend by argument that which is indefensible, shows that only their less able men have at present joined it, while we may hope that there is little difference between ourselves and those who adhere to the older and more orthodox creed. To them the Saints are living companions and powerful friends, while to the majority among ourselves they are but dead human beings. We have placed our LORD in the position the Saints should occupy, and they have too often filled the place our LORD should occupy with the Saints. Yet both sides indignantly rebut the accusation, which nothing

but dispassionate investigation and the re-establishment of orthodoxy on fundamental points of the Incarnation can refute or justify. It is something if we begin to see the error on our own side as well as on the opposite, and for this of course our disbelief in our own infallibility gives us greater facilities.

There can be little doubt also, that when properly and duly guarded from any temporal, and from undue spiritual interference with the rights of Churches, the union of the whole body under one Visible Head would greatly tend to unanimity, so far as it is desirable. It is doubtless not desirable that there should be one ritual, and one form of devotion all over the Christian world. Different nations and different races must vary in their manner of Communion of GOD as in their social intercourse, if it is to be the real expression of their souls. But if this were recognised and the individual developments of churches were watched and controlled by a centre of unity, instead of being arbitrarily dictated by a despotic power claiming infallibility for some even of its most trifling enunciations, much of the division and the unseemly contests between truth and power from which we now suffer would be averted. But this in the very nature of things must follow, not precede the restoration of the true principles of the English

Church. For we demand no fundamental change in our own communion, though we are often accused of so doing. The principles upon which the Reformation was conducted, *minus* the political element, and the principles of Rome, *minus* the political element there also, are and always have been perfectly reconcileable. Our quarrel was not with the Church of Rome but with the Court of Rome, as it has often been said; and in claiming our right to administer "the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church" (as the title of our Prayerbook so happily expresses it) "according to the use of the Church of England;" we did but claim the rights exercised without question by all Churches in the earliest times. Doubtless in the rearrangement of those rites and ceremonies, much that is valuable to the soul was lost, but it may well be questioned if a merciful Providence did not allow the Church to deprive the country of blessings for which it was not fitted, and which the same Providence is now with equal mercy restoring. And in proof of this, we think we may fairly appeal to the condition of that body of Englishmen who have *not* been deprived of these blessings for the last three hundred years—the Roman Catholics of this country. They ought to have been a body of saints, or at all events immensely superior in holiness to the rest of the population;—have

they been so? They have had persecution to purify them; they have been fettered by no connection with the State; they have had the perpetual Divine Presence with them always on the Altar; and yet—are they as a Christian body so very superior to ourselves? Is there the difference between them and us, which on their own showing you would expect to find between the Church and a mere human institution?" Have they been the one nucleus of all that is good and holy in England, meekly submitting or gloriously triumphing; and manifesting to all the world that those who meet their LORD every day can never resemble those who meet Him but seldom, and then acknowledge not his Presence? We cannot see that it is so: and further, we see that the English, not the Roman body, is the main spring of all the good and religious progress in England, and that we have endured the toil from which they are reaping the harvest.

The practice of the Ancient Church and the length of time for which penitents were deprived of communion and other Christian blessings, proves that the principle of depriving a sinful Church of its privileges in mercy as well as in punishment, is a sound one. What could at first sight be better for the penitent soul than the reception of its Lord, and who more fit for it than the return-

ing sinner, wearing away his life with penitential discipline? Yet for how many years it was anciently withheld from the sincere penitent. So among ourselves, the withholding of that best of blessings, the Presence in the Tabernacle, making our Churches indeed the Temples of GOD, has doubtless been in mercy. Let us only imagine that the English Church had enjoined Reservation, and her children yet practically lost their belief in the Real Presence; what awful desecration must have been the result! Even now there are few places where we could feel assured that GOD might dwell in honour and reverence; and surely we must all admit that it is far better for us to be waiting for His appearance and enduring His absence, than that we should too hastily bring Him among us to be despised and insulted by the creatures He comes to bless. Mockery and scorn of Him there would only bring judgments down upon our Church and country, while the blessing promised to all them that wait for Him will show itself by increased fitness for His reception, enabling Him at last to grant our prayers. Still, of all the blessings that Reunion would bring us, there can be none to which we look forward more eagerly and earnestly than the inestimable joys which every devout Roman Catholic has learnt to associate with the Tabernacle containing the Blessed

Sacrament. They may well ask as they see our scanty Celebrations, and our practical ignoring of the Sacrifice, "Where is now thy GOD?" But it is our comfort to repeat our "Amen, even so come," in answer to another Voice, giving us sure promise of His speedy return.

The marvel is, that Roman Catholics whatever their views may be, do not see the wisdom of aiding us to the utmost. Admitting that we are but a lay body with no pretensions to the name of a Church, we yet, in our belief (however mistaken) that we are one, are doing for England that which they cannot do. We are teaching men to believe that GOD is to be worshipped under the form of Bread, and they are learning the lesson from us which they have refused to learn from the Roman teachers who have been among us for the last three hundred years. We are teaching men to endure willingly the pain of confession, which is an intense trial to the reserved Anglo-Saxon nature, and to believe that a man's "I absolve thee" is the voice of GOD. How many English Protestants have Roman priests brought to confession, compared with the Anglican clergy? Could they have overcome the English dislike to "mummery" as we are overcoming it? On *any* hypothesis, we are doing their work; but instead of perceiving this, and helping forward labours which are at

least substituting faith for unbelief, a certain set among them are so wedded to modern dogmata, that they oppose as their bitterest enemies, those who might once have been valuable allies. Surely on their own showing it would have been far easier to transfer the faith of England from the shadow to the substance than to evoke that faith direct from materialistic unbelief?

But from the first they have committed themselves to a "believe-us, or believe-nothing" policy, which has virtually been the ruin of the party upholding it. England would have been Catholicised, and they might have received her allegiance. Now England will be Catholicized but with different results. Ultramontanism will go from one violent assertion to another till it disgusts every Christian and Catholic Englishman, and by its own resolute holding off from all who will not bow down before it, must at last come to isolation and decay. Even supposing it to be the truth, England could never have come to receive it except in the most gradual manner, and from that last hope, if it can be called one, its adherents have cut themselves off from the beginning of the movement. We of course shall eventually reap the advantage, but still we should greatly have preferred to be all one by the fusion of all, and not by the destruction of some.

Meantime let us learn the lesson ourselves; not to despise the work of those whose views of truth are more imperfect than our own. Evangelicals can sometimes bring dissenters into the Church by unconsciously misrepresenting her doctrines, and when there, they learn to accept a higher sense, which they perceive to be the only honest one. Mere Anglicans with their abhorrence of Rome teach many fundamental principles of Catholicity, and the learners in time perceive their logical result.

All members have not the same office. Rome has preserved much that we have lost, while we have revived much that Rome has lost, but both communions have been crippled and weakened by separation in their contest with the world. United they would be invincible. The intelligent reason of England joined to the child-like faith of Rome; the earnestness and hatred of hypocrisy of England, and the lofty standard held up to the faithful by Rome; the practical character of England and the theoretical grandeur of Rome; the common sense adaptation of England to the world as it finds it, and the nobly conceived though sometimes visionary rising above all that is earthly which distinguishes Rome; the keen and tender dread of human suffering which we find in England, coupled with the stern trampling down of human emotion for the sake of truth, which we find in

Rome;—all these, combined with the wealth of England and the management and discipline of the Roman hierarchy, will present Christianity to the world in that form which the nineteenth century needs. This alone will neither stunt the powers of the mind and body on the one hand, or on the other teach the soul to rest satisfied with any future less glorious than elevation through the cross to the Throne of the Incarnate SON of GOD.

VIII.

POSTSCRIPT ON CATHOLIC UNITY.

BY THE AUTHOR OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE REV. FATHER LOCKHART.*

IT may perhaps be deemed uncalled for, if not unsuitable, for a writer who has so lately come forward with an independent publication of his own bearing on the same subject to offer any contribution to this volume of Essays. Nor should I have done so but for the kind and urgent request of friends, as well Catholic as Anglican, whose wishes have a claim upon me. And the few additional remarks I propose to make here must be regarded as purely supplementary to my recently published Letter, partly in the way of explanation or expansion, partly in reply to objections. Under the last head occasional reference will be unavoidable to one of my reviewers who is not

* *Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon considered in relation to Catholic Unity. A Letter to the Rev. Father Lockhart of the Institute of Charity.* By Henry Nutcombe Oxenham, M.A., late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. London, Longmans & Co.

more singular in the hostility than in the habitual inaccuracy of his strictures. But I shall only refer to them so far as the course of the argument may require, for it would be alike unprofitable and out of place to enter into detailed controversy with my critics here.* Nor can I do more than offer a general acknowledgment for the many kindly and appreciative notices which my little work has elicited in journals, both English and foreign, differing for the most part in sentiment both from each other and from myself, and thus affording clearer and more reliable evidence of the growing recognition among various, not to say antagonistic, schools of the importance of unity and the imperative duty of striving to regain it. In this conviction, thank GOD, Catholic and Protestant, Greek and Latin, Anglican and Dissenter, are coming to find a

* I may take this opportunity, however, of withdrawing an incidental allusion in my pamphlet complained of by the editor of the *Dublin*, to his "somewhat tardy admission" of the purely private and unofficial character of that journal. It seems that he wrote to the *Weekly Register* to correct the current misconception on the point, as soon as he became aware of it. But I had not seen or heard of his letter, and meanwhile it was only natural to suppose him cognisant of a belief so widely prevalent as to be freely used for the suppression of opinions adverse to those of the Review or even vindication from its censures, while the Bishop of Clifton had thought it sufficiently important to require a public contradiction. While I regret my mistake, it is satisfactory to know that there can be none on the matter itself for the future.

common ground of sympathy and a common object to be aimed at.* Even the *Dublin Review* admits in the abstract the importance of "Christian Re-union," and is able to "sincerely recommend" that portion of my Letter (pp. 67-85) which enlarges on the benefits that would accrue from it. And we need not hesitate gladly to accept the admission, though remembering that, in Dr. Döllinger's words, "he alone wills an end who wills the means without which it is unattainable, and shows his will by his acts," we may find it difficult to understand the reality of a desire for re-union in those who advocate principles so hopelessly incompatible with its attainment, unless through some miraculous cataclysm (of which history presents no example) in the whole tone and tendency of modern thought, as well religious as irreligious. For, while it is indeed certain that a revived yearning for unity has deeply stirred the minds of Christian men in this our age, it is no less clear that there is a growing repugnance on all sides to accept such a basis of unity as these writers would alone hold to be admissible. Even were I disposed (as I am not) to consider a re-union on their principles the most desirable in itself, I should still feel most strongly

* The article on English Converts in the September number of *Blackwood* affords remarkable evidence of the interest felt in Catholic matters where it would hardly have been looked for.

that the δευτερος πλοῦς of re-union on a different basis, at least equally recognised in the Church, would, to use the words of my friend Father Lockhart, be infinitely "better than perpetuated schism."

It is more and more becoming the general conclusion of all who have most deeply studied the question that the great Communions of Christendom were originally separated and are still kept asunder rather by quarrels of detail than by differences of principle.* The Greeks have never formally committed themselves to a denial of the divine primacy of the Roman See which they recognized at Florence, whatever individual theologians may have said in the heat of controversy; what they chiefly objected to was the claim, based not on divine commission but on the forged decretals, then universally received as genuine, to exercise a kind of coactive patriarchal jurisdiction in the East, practically superseding the office of their own Patriarchs. And we know how much abuses, since remedied, connected with appeals to Rome had to do with the divisions of the sixteenth century. It is not to be supposed that the Holy See, which has so readily adapted itself to varieties of circumstance in its dealings

* This conviction will hardly be disturbed by the rhetorical reassertion of the contrary opinion, without even a shadow of proof, in Archbishop Trench's recent charge.

with the Catholic nations of Europe, would allow such difficulties to stand in the way of any practicable scheme of reconciliation.* Thus again I have thought it important to insist, after the example of Dr. Newman and others, that such forms of what may be called for convenience Marian theology and Marian devotion as are criticized in the *Eirenicon*, whether right or wrong, are at best purely matters of individual opinion, and neither form, or ever can form, any part of the doctrine of the Church.* There is no danger, therefore, in the event of a re-union, of their being forced on a people to whom they are obviously unsuitable and repulsive, and to most of whom they would seem, as to Dr. Newman himself, "like a bad dream." It is a strange confusion of thought to charge those who so speak with "antipathy to the one exclusive Truth" (unless the

* Thus *e. g.* there is a provision in the Concordat with Bavaria by which appeals to Rome are heard on the spot by a Bishop who is the *ex officio* representative of the Holy See for the purpose. A case occurred two years ago, when I was at Munich, of a priest appealing against the judgment of the Archbishop, and the appeal was heard by his suffragan the Bishop of Augsburg, acting in that capacity. It is very possible that a similar arrangement may exist elsewhere, but I am not able to say.

* There are some sensible and temperate remarks on this subject, following out the line of argument indicated in Dr. Newman's *Letter to Pusey*, in the Preface and Appendix to an excellent statement of Catholic Doctrine on Devotion to the Blessed Virgin by a writer of the last century just republished by a venerable priest, the Rev. J. Sidden,

"Dublin Review" be its one exclusive organ); and when I am so charged for "concurring in" the unfavourable judgment of the late Father General of the Order of Charity on a recent Marian manual, my critic also forgets that I have merely quoted Father Pagani's language, without expressing either concurrence or dissent, as well because it refers to a book I have not read as because my object—sufficiently patent on the surface—was, not to propound my own opinion, which is of little consequence, but to record that of one of the first devotional writers of the day in Italy and the head of a learned and active Religious Order in the Church. The authority of such names as Rosmini's and Pagani's may well serve to reassure those of our Anglican friends who are perplexed by the bluster of a little coterie of amateur theologians or the idiosyncracies of a crotchetty journalist.

This re-awakened yearning for unity is not confined even to those who call themselves

with the written approbation of Bishop Challoner and Cardinal Wiseman. The Editor's caution against "devotional importations from the fervid poetical regions of Southern Europe" is in exact accordance with Dr. Newman's remarks on the subject. I may add that both his own language and that of his authorities entirely bear out what I have elsewhere said on the unwisdom of employing the word "worship," which is sure to be misunderstood, in reference to devotion to our Lady and the Saints. Mr. Sidden makes considerable use of Cardinal Wiseman's Letter to Lord Shrewsbury.

Christians. A sect has lately sprung up, germinated from the brains of a French philosopher, for the very purpose, it would seem, of recalling to men's mind this great truth, though they so present as to caricature it. The volume of Essays on "International Policy," which has just appeared, gives abundant evidence of this, and the genuine enthusiasm displayed by several of the writers in setting forth the paramount obligations of common brotherhood and individual self-sacrifice for the good of the race cannot but command our respect.* We may marvel indeed at their announcing as a discovery of their own what took its origin from the Redeemer's "new commandment" and its energy from His dying prayer; that they should seek to knit afresh the bonds of a universal human sympathy apart from that higher unity whereof the Church is the legitimate expression, and which finds its justification and its centre in Him who is alone the true Root of Humanity, the "Daysman" betwixt man and GOD who can lay His hand upon both. But we must, if we are honest, acknowledge to our shame that only through our practical forgetfulness of the first

* See especially Mr. Brydges' able and interesting article on England and China, and his fearless exposure of our iniquitous (let me add unchristian) policy towards that country.

rudiments of our own religion have others been able to put forward without manifest absurdity one aspect of Christian doctrine as the new truth destined to supersede Christianity in the regeneration of mankind. But for the selfishness and disunion of Christians, Comtists could never have mistaken that fundamental postulate of all Christian teaching they are dimly feeling after for the substitute or rival of Christianity. The noble maxim of the old Roman—*Nihil humani a me alienum puto*—was but the anticipation, the modern "solidarity of peoples" is but the shadow of that universal brotherhood proclaimed by CHRIST, and first realised in His infant Church.

There are some, however, who profess a desire for restored unity among Christians but repudiate the idea of "corporate reunion" as alike chimerical and false, opposed to the first principles of Catholicism, and only conceivable through "an astounding and most unprecedented miracle." They have even had the hardihood to deny that Cardinal Wiseman's famous Letter sanctions the "theological error" of corporate reunion or points to anything but the most absolutely unreserved submission of individuals. His urgency in insisting (as I have shown elsewhere) on the duty of *mutual explanations* would alone disprove this assertion; explanations can neither be offered nor accepted in a case of

unconditional surrender. An able advocate of the latter method of dealing with separatists was no more than consistent in maintaining that "the Church could listen to no explanation but a *Confiteor* and accept no plea but a *Miserere*." Such has ever been the language of intolerant dogmatists, and such has never been the practice of the Church. But any one who will take the trouble to read the Cardinal's Letter—and it will amply repay perusal—will at once perceive that such an interpretation of it is not only untrue but is the categorical reverse of the truth. So far from not referring to Corporate Re-union, Corporate Re-union is its one subject, or, as Father Lockhart expresses it, "the idea of Corporate Re-union is entertained throughout." The illustrious author speaks habitually of "a return to unity *by the Anglican Church*," of "the return of this country *through its Established Church* to Catholic unity," of "*bringing her into her rightful position*, in Catholic unity with the Holy See and the Churches of its obedience—in other words with the Church Catholic."* And there is the more reason for insisting on this, since it is well known that the Cardinal retained to the last the principles laid down in his Letter, which it is the fashion with some to stigmatize as "theological errors" now.

It will be time enough to answer objections

* See Appendix to *Letter to F. Lockhart* pp. 105, 106.

to the possibility of Corporate Re-union when a single example has been produced from Church History of any other method of reconciling separated communities. And the same testimony which proves the possibility, demonstrates of course the fitness of the Church's manner of procedure. There was the less need for dwelling on this part of the subject in my Letter, as it had just before been elaborately discussed in Father Lockhart's review of the *Eirenicon*. To quote his words: "Corporate Re-union *cannot be impossible*, since it has been realised by the Church at the Council of Florence, as well as in various other transactions with separated bodies . . . . if the Church attempted it, *clearly the principle is sound*."* I may now refer for a fuller drawing out of the same argument, with special reference to the case of Anglicans, to the preface to the second edition of his pamphlet. It would be, as he justly observes, "gross uncharity"—and indeed grossly irrational—to question the good faith of at least the immense majority of those who are fighting the battle of Catholic principles in the Church of England. Nor does any reasonable man doubt the sincerity of the author of the *Eirenicon*.† Whether Cardinal Wiseman's

* *Possibilities and Difficulties of Re-union* (Longmans), pp. 5, 6.

† It is stated by a writer in the *Dublin Review* for July

sanguine temperament exaggerated the hopeful signs of approximation on the part of Anglicans in 1841 we need not now enquire; there cannot be two opinions among those who know anything of the facts as to the surprising advance which has been made during the quarter of a century since elapsed.

Even in dealing with bodies like the "Evangelical Church" of Prussia, which have wholly broken with the past and scarce retain a semblance of real ecclesiastical organization, corporate action would be the most natural, perhaps the only available method of procedure: and accordingly overtures to that effect have from time to time been made to them, as in Bossuet's days, and would no doubt be made again should a favourable opportunity arise. How much more is this true of a body which has preserved so much of its traditional character and hierarchical organization as the Church of England, and puts in a claim which cannot be dismissed without full and thorough sifting to the possession of a true priesthood. Corporate Reunion may be difficult of attainment, but no

(p. 244) that two years ago Dr. Pusey "meditated secession." Of course if Dr. Pusey has privately communicated this information to the reviewer, there is no more to be said; only if so his private and public utterances must be in rather remarkable contradiction to each other. Most people would have supposed that, if there was one man living to whom, reasonably or unreasonably, the idea of secession had *not* occurred, that man was Dr. Pusey.

man in his senses can anticipate the unity of Christendom within any calculable number of ages by the slow and precarious process of individual conversions.

Two prominent facts confront the gaze of those who look out on the religious aspect of the world around us. On the one hand there is the Antichristian movement. Its footfall is heard in our streets, its mark may be traced on our literature, its mutterings float on the passing breeze. Opposed to this, and partly in consequence of it, there is a centripetal movement towards Unity. Men feel that the argument once so effective to awe the indifferentist and silence the sceptic has become almost a dead letter to us. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum* was not so much an inference from theological principles as an appeal to visible facts. S. Augustine hardly needed to argue for an indivisible Church when he could point to an undivided Christendom. But with East arrayed against West, Teuton against Latin, Saxon against Celt, the old watchword dies powerless on our lips. While it provokes the sneer of the infidel, it sounds even to the well-disposed as the echo of "a lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play cunningly on a musical instrument," for men hear the words and regard them not. And hence arise, directly or indirectly, nearly all those terrible evils of

disunion I have elsewhere had occasion to enumerate. Thoughtful and earnest minds, perceiving this, yearn for a restoration of unity. It is impossible but that all who really believe in Revelation should be drawn more closely together in presence of a common foe. The consciousness is forced upon them that no available support may be lightly dispensed with in the conflict now becoming daily more imminent, no strength wasted in defending untenable positions. If the trumpet give an uncertain sound it cannot lead to victory.

The need for some central authority has been conspicuously, I might almost say amusingly, illustrated in the recent Colenso controversy in the Established Church, and was uneasily recognized in the debates in Convocation on the subject. It was felt on both sides that there should be some right of appeal from the decision of a metropolitan, and while one party were striving to erect the See of Canterbury into a kind of Anglican patriarchate, another was no less strenuously bent on claiming the fulness of papal authority for the British Crown. At the same time there is manifestly a growing disinclination to accept any basis of Union which does not find its roots in history and its justification in the deepest needs of the Church and the individual soul. Such tests can only tell in favour of the primacy of

the central See, but they expose the supreme unwisdom of seeking to clothe with its usurped authority the theories of individuals or of schools which wake no response in the conscience and intellect of modern Europe.

At such a time our obvious duty would seem to be to explain difficulties rather than to multiply them, scrupulously to avoid whatever may create fresh differences or exaggerate those already existing, and above all to approach our separated brethren in a spirit of genuine cordiality and with the honest desire of discovering some common ground to meet upon. The words of the great Christian poet who was taken from us last Holy week, with a prayer for unity on his dying lips, may well be applied to the present phenomena of our threatened, distracted Christendom

> "Is this a time to plant and build,
> Add house to house, and field to field,
> *When round our walls the battle lowers,*
> *When mines are hid beneath our towers?*"

Man's necessity is GOD'S opportunity. And if it be true, as a keen observer has lately remarked, that "in the infidel literature of Europe there are ominous threats and undisguised passions which remind us that the spirit which cried of old, *Christianos ad leones*, is not extinct," we may recognise in that very fact a divine call to unity clearer than any which has made itself

heard in the world since the last great schism. It may be that the stern ordeal of persecution is the only adequate penance to cure our proud self-seeking and teach us to understand each other.

A word of explanation may be fitly added here. I have all along assumed that over and above its direct and immediate results many incidental advantages would accrue from the re-union of Christendom. Not the least of them, as has been elsewhere shown, would be the revival of a healthier tone of sentiment among ourselves and the moderation of the extravagance and bitterness of party spirit. To say this is not to imply, as seems to have been strangely imagined, that one particular party, which happens just now to be a great impediment to re-union, would be cast out of the Church. GOD forbid! Those who least like its principles or its policy would be the last to entertain so foolish and arbitrary a desire. They may think it probable that some phases of opinion exceptionally, not to say tyrannously, dominant at this moment would under altered circumstances gradually die out, as many previous schools of thought equally popular in their day have culminated, declined and passed away. But, if so, they would die a natural death, not suffer a forcible extinction. Whatever is true in them would abide, what is narrow,

onesided and unreal would wither and drop off, not through pressure from without but under the genial influences of a freer atmosphere and kindlier sunshine in the λαμπρὸς αἰθηρ of a reunited Christendom.

> Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
> Purpureo.

Different schools, indeed, as of Thomists and Scotists, the Church must ever contain. *In dubiis libertas* is a first corollary of *In necessariis unitas:* diversity in unity is one of her characteristic gifts. What is needed is that rival parties should learn not merely to tolerate but to recognise and respect each other, to act in the spirit of the advice I have elsewhere quoted, addressed three years ago by Dr. Döllinger to the Catholic divines of Germany, never to attempt to put down a theological opponent by denunciation instead of argument, by discrediting his orthodoxy instead of examining the value of his principles.* As it is, there is too much tendency in the school which happens to

* See Preface to *First Age of the Church* (Allen) pp. xi. xii. A writer in the *Dublin Review* has oddly enough complained of this extract as "denouncing" that journal, which is nowhere named or referred to in Dr. Döllinger's Speech or my Preface. I am afraid there are several religious magazines, both English and foreign, which might do well to profit by his warning, nor am I at all prepared to say that the *Dublin* is not one of them. But it was hardly wise to remind us so pointedly of the old proverb, *Qui s'excuse s'accuse!*

be the favourite of the hour to do its best to degrade the Catholic Church to the ignoble level of a mere sect, by making its own particular shibboleths the measure of orthodoxy, and anathematizing all who are beyond its narrow pale. And thus jealousies and heart-burnings are fostered in the Church, while grievous scandal is given to those without who shrink from having a yoke imposed on them the Church has not imposed, and which neither they nor their fathers have been able to bear. Hence an important service is rendered to the cause of truth and charity by the seasonable publication of such works as that already referred to, appearing under the sanction of great and venerable names, to remind us of the broad line of demarcation which separates, as by an impassable gulf, the variable excrescences of party tradition from the authorized doctrine of the Church.*

To the accusations of enthusiasm or of disloyalty, sometimes brought forward against those engaged in the endeavour to promote Christian unity, no further reply is needed here. Enthusiasm, as I have taken occasion to urge before, is in every great undertaking a first condition of success. Nothing but a morbid

* *Cardinal Wiseman and Bishop Challoner. A Christian Peace Offering.* By Rev. J. Sidden. London: Richardson & Sons, 1866.

passion for paradox could construct a charge of disloyalty to the Church out of the endeavour to find a practicable basis for the Reunion of Christendom. But an Apostle has reminded us that we cannot expect to accomplish any work for GOD if we are not prepared, in some way or other, to suffer persecution for it. This was keenly felt by Cardinal Wiseman when he first broke ground on the subject of Re-union twenty-five years ago; and those who have since entered into his labours will discern an almost prophetic force in the words he used at their commencement; "Is this a visionary idea? Is it merely the expression of a strong desire? I know that many will so judge it; *perhaps were I to consult my own quiet, I would not venture to express it.* But I will with simplicity of heart cling to hopefulness, cheered, as I feel it, by so many promising appearances."* Those cheering appearances are multiplied tenfold now. Let us take heart to labour and pray more earnestly for "the accomplishment of this noble end," persevering through evil report and good report, through the curses of those who should be our natural allies, and the cold acquiescence of those who will not have the generosity to aid us, as well assured that they are more who are with us than are against us, and that no weapon shall ultimately

* Letter to Lord Shrewsbury, p. 11.

prosper that is formed against the Church, whether forged by the hands of her bitterest revilers, or by theirs who would fain be reckoned her most devoted sons. There will always be some men unable to understand that the gold is sanctified by the temple, not the temple by the gold—that the life is more than meat and the body than raiment—whose misplaced devotion is not unaptly symbolized by that knight of ancient legend, so unswerving in the ardour, so perverse in the object of his loyalty, whose

> . . . "honour rooted in dishonour stood,
> And faith unfaithful made him falsely true."

But meanwhile the conviction is strengthening on all sides of the grave injury entailed not only upon the religious practice and belief but even on the moral and social condition of mankind through our unhappy divisions. Nor is that conviction confined by any means to those who sympathise with what it has become the fashion to call the "Unionist party," if they even know of its existence. It is admitted by one of the fiercest enemies of the movement that, "were a considerable approach really made to the Re-union of Christendom, such approach would be unspeakably beneficial, not only to the individual souls newly imbued with knowledge of the Truth, but to the whole Church, nay, and to the whole world," though he proceeds at once to draw a gratuitous in-

ference (in which I certainly cannot follow him) in favour of religious persecution, which has perhaps done more than anything else to foster and perpetuate schisms. On the other hand a writer wholly external to it observes, in the course of a remarkably straightforward letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* on "Sisterhoods, Nuns, and Nurses," that the recent Institutions of this kind in the Church of England "are materially forwarding the advance of that spirit of charity which may ultimately unite in practical works of benevolence the clergy and the laity of different creeds, *not on a latitudinarian or non-religious basis*, but on the basis of a recognition of those elementary principles of religion and morals without which the very belief in Christianity itself is logically impossible." Such practical union would be a natural step towards something further. The writer adds, with great force, "Frightful as is the misery produced by the present visitation of cholera, it cannot fail to mitigate clerical hostilities. It is quite impossible that priest and parson, Catholic nuns and Protestant sisters, should rival one another in devotion to the sick and dying, *without learning to understand, respect, and even become attached to one another*, and without coming round at last to St. Paul's opinion that, however excellent may be "faith" and "hope," "charity"

is better than either of them."* It would of course be a grave error to suppose, as doubtless this writer does not, that mutual respect and attachment for each other exhaust S. Paul's idea of charity, but they form an integral part of it; and the Apostle, who is himself the very pattern of divine love, warns us against the delusion of supposing that we can love GOD Whom we have not seen, while we do not love our brethren whom we have seen.

The breaking down of national barriers and class prejudice on the one hand, and the more open assaults of infidelity on the other upon the fundamental tenets of Revelation, are almost forcing Christian believers into closer relations and a better appreciation of each other; and the unnatural heritage of mutual curses which clothed them as a garment, and which the sharp east wind of controversial zeal made them wrap only the more closely around them, bids fair, according to the old fable, to be laid aside in the genial sunshine of returning sympathy. May the All-Merciful bring us together here before the altars of a common faith, till we come to gaze hereafter on the perfect

* See a Letter signed "J. M. Capes" in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Aug. 16th. (Since the above was in type Mr. Capes has described himself in a subsequent letter as a "Christian unattached." This, however, increases rather than weakens the force of his testimony on the point referred to.

harmony of those scattered truths which the toilers of many ages have gleaned through the world's long history, mirrored on the waveless surface of that crystal sea which is spread before His throne in Heaven!

H. N. OXENHAM.

IX.

THE SPIRIT IN WHICH RE-UNION SHOULD BE SOUGHT.

AMONGST many acts in the past, which Anglicans cannot but deplore; notwithstanding losses, which even in the present phase of the Catholic Revival in England, have not yet been made good, it must always be a matter of sincere thankfulness that no new theory of Unity was broached among the many novel innovations of the Reformation era. The Church of England took up no Donatistic position, she did but essay to perform that which other national churches, in a certain degree, had always laid claim to accomplish; while, whatever changes were effected in her relations with other portions of Western Christendom, were made rather on political than on religious grounds. The struggle with the Court of Rome for national independence was nothing new. It had been carried on for generations,

here one side appearing at an advantage, there the other. And though, at different periods, individuals may have felt bitterly, and in their ignorance used strong language towards the Bishop of Rome, yet none, in a right mind and with the needs of Christian souls before them, could possibly have desired that Visible Unity should ever have been broken, however much rash acts and unjustifiable words tended to so miserable a consummation.

The fact, however, stands before us, and it is a melancholy fact, that the Church of England* is isolated in Christendom. For three centuries her sons have not sufficiently lamented the existence of this crying evil, nor even realized the spiritual losses which on account of it her children have sustained. Intercommunion with the Orthodox and Latin Churches having been practically suspended, innumerable anomalies have crept into existence to the great detriment of harmonious action, in the practical working of the Church of England. As long as Acts of Parliament and State judgments could sustain an artificial influence that began to wane in the early part of the seventeenth century, and collapsed during the Great Rebellion, so long the Anglican theory remained much in the same

* By this term is included not simply those colonial churches in communion with the United Church of England and Ireland, but also the Protestant Episcopal communions in Scotland and America.

position as it had stood for several previous centuries. The repudiation of the Supremacy of the Roman Pontiff need not have altered that theory in any greater degree than the Eastern theory of Unity was altered when East and West became formally separated. But later on, when the English Church had to adapt herself by slow degrees to the changed relations which existed between certain portions of the English population and herself, irregularities and incongruities, like unhealthy parasites, began to attach themselves to her system. And when, after the sterility of two dreary centuries, during which it had been found impossible for those whose ancestors had renounced obedience to the Patriarch of the West, to preach with anything like consistency, obedience to themselves and their spiritual rulers, the old theory was applied, it signally and completely failed. The new principle of ecclesiastical independence that had been introduced in the reign of Henry the Eighth notoriously ran to seed during the latter years of the life of King Charles the First to the loss both of Church and Crown. And so, by degrees, in due course, the ancient theory of Unity retained even up to the period of the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, lost its influence and power. This was all the more manifest when, first feebly but afterwards more vigorously, the missionary idea was set in motion,

and the Church of England began to extend her influence in foreign lands and colonies of the British empire. For example, that the Bishop of London can exercise any lawful jurisdiction, in France or Belgium is an idea which, on Catholic principles common both to East and West, cannot for one moment be entertained. Persons irregularly ministering abroad, in dioceses where a true portion of the Catholic Church exists, may, if they think well, render an obedience to the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of London may find it convenient to assume a jurisdiction over them, but nothing in the theory of the Church of England warrants either the one or the other, and what is done on the one hand by the bishop, and on the other by the priest, cannot, in the absence of any legitimate enactment, commit Anglicans to the approval of such irregularities and anomalies. And this is well, for so long as churchmen fail to mark what it is essential for them, in the promotion of Re-union, to avoid, so long will they be found, unintentionally it may be and ignorantly, but yet efficiently, adding fresh stones to the walls of division, which have been so unhappily built up.

Nothing should be left undone both in theory and in practice, as opportunities offer, to carry out the plain principle to which the Church of England held fast at the time of

the Reformation, viz.: that no separation was intended between herself and the rest of Christendom.* She started with the assumption that the supremacy of the Roman pontiff was neither of Divine authority, nor of ecclesiastical necessity, and consequently abandoned it. A crucial precedent had been created by the altered relations between East and West five centuries previously: so that, in that particular, nothing novel was effected. This being so, every attempt should be made to minimize rather than maximize the evils of suspended intercommunion. Nothing should be done in a spirit of insularity. It should not be with us, "GOD, we thank Thee that we are not as other men," but "Give peace in our time O Lord." The minds of the people, both in the Roman and Anglican Churches, require to be prepared for a reception of the great idea of Corporate Re-union. For three centuries it has never once been continuously entertained. Let it be so henceforth. Especially should we attempt to discover, notwithstanding past divisions—the evils of which we inherit for the sins of our forefathers—how much exists which is common to both, and how real is the invisible union

* The Bishop of Oxford has brought out this important fact, with his usual masterly comments, at pp. 56, 57 of his recent *Charge* (London: Parker and Co.), quoting in support of his thoroughly Re-unionistic sentiments, the remarkable Thirtieth Canon of 1603.

which has been created between either through the sacraments. Then will there be some well-grounded hope of a future permanent success.

And here a few words should be put on record for those who are unhopeful or despond for the future. For the present it seems obvious that little can be actually undertaken for the promotion of Visible Unity. Some years must elapse before the great work of preparation is sufficiently advanced to enable our rulers and the rulers of the Orthodox and Western Churches to contemplate the common needs of every part of the Christian Family, and to co-operate respectively with their separated brethren for bringing about so desirable a consummation. Members of the Church of England are certainly far from prepared for Corporate Re-union. To the general body of the people such an act would be distasteful in the highest degree. For the present Prejudice and Ignorance are potent. The separation of three centuries, the national pride and love of insulation—"political necessities," as they are termed—the bitterness of theological controversy, and the deliberate perversions of historical truth which such a wearisome controversy has engendered, are still exercising an influence baneful and considerable. Old prejudices, therefore, must be first rooted up. The

people must be carefully and patiently taught by painstaking teachers to unlearn much that has been delivered by those who have been wrongly instructed, as a part of GOD'S Truth. By a silent revolution, and not by a religious cataclasm, must this needful work be carried out. For thirty years and more a change for the better has, as we so well know, been gradually made. Every sermon of positive Catholic dogma, every Church restored to something of its pristine completeness, each good book, leavened with the true leaven, has more or less left its mark on those who have read it and have helped on the work. The restoration of Catholic principles, not learnt from foreign Christians, but gathered from the energising principles of the undivided Church, has been a most powerful means of preparing the minds of many for first contemplating the need of Re-union, and then for praying and working for its accomplishment. The restoration of Catholic practices, of ritual, the religious life, and of a thoroughly Christian education for classes who had been neglected, have given an impetus to the movement, the breadth and importance of which has not yet been adequately measured. Signs of Divine power and extended influence are apparent on all hands. Still it is only a work of preparation that can be attempted. As

yet, for Re-union, very few in the Church of England are prepared.

And the same is the case on the part of members of the Anglo-Roman body, as the following frank testimony of a clergyman of that community is a sufficient evidence :—

"There must be the humble acceptance of the revealed Truth of GOD, and of those means of salvation, and that worship of the living GOD which He Himself has given us, and which He Himself has proved, before there can be any recognition, any Re-union. *And, to tell you the truth, I should be very sorry to have a sudden Re-union of the two Churches; for really, with the strange ideas, the varieties of ideas, the extraordinary notions, and the mixture of Error and Truth, false doctrine and true doctrine, in English minds, we should not know what to do with them, if we had them all at once.* If all the Anglican clergymen and people were to join themselves with our Church, we should not know what to do with them; unless Almighty GOD wrought a most stupendous miracle, and by an effusion of the HOLY GHOST greater than that which He vouchsafed to the Primitive Church, we should be overwhelmed and worn out in rectifying men's minds, in setting them right on all those important matters which we hold, if they were to turn over to us immediately. If, however, any large proportion of this nation be re-united to the Catholic Church, it will be done by degrees, gradually; and that is the only way in which it can be safely done. There is one thing which has struck me in this con-

troversy, and it is of a very important character. On looking over the arguments on both sides, I see a great number used on one side about what the English Church has approved and established, and as to what is conformable with its 'views' and Canons; and there seems to be a complete absence of what appears in my mind to be the first and all-important point—namely, What is the Will of GOD in this matter—what is the doctrine and the Will of JESUS CHRIST? What matters the doctrines and decisions of men, except authorized by the SON of GOD and aided by the HOLY GHOST? What matters the decisions of a National Church? What are these when compared to what the Will of GOD is? What is the Truth of GOD in this matter?—that is the point, and not what is in accordance with the doctrines of a Church, and that a National Church, a separated Church, a Church not acknowledged by the great Catholic Church, a Church not acknowledged fully by the modern reformed Church. The other side put forward a few arguments, but mostly unsupported assertions, that what is being done is contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England. Their grand argument, however, is that the English people will not bear this, will not tolerate this, will not put up with this. But the question comes to my mind—at the day of judgment, are the English people to rise up and push JESUS CHRIST from His judgment-seat, and push the Holy Apostles from their seats? and have this English people to decide supremely and with sovereign authority upon all these questions?"*

* Speech of Father Cobb at Preston.

It may, therefore, be rationally allowed that on both sides—for Roman Catholics, themselves isolated for so long from their Anglican brethren, are as unprepared for Corporate Reunion as ourselves—much more work must be done; the whole question must be patiently and constantly ventilated before success can come or the Day of Peace can dawn.

Moreover, until a broad and truly Catholic view be taken of the relations which exist between the various parts of the Christian Family, much labour in endeavouring to promote Re-union may be spent in vain. In such a survey History and Philosophy must come to our aid. For ten centuries the Church Universal was visibly One. Now, however, from the Anglican point of view, already defined, it is divided into three great communions, substantially agreed in faith, but yet differing from each other in several particulars. It appears certain that two of them and probably the whole three, for various reasons, and from different causes, have drifted away from that which was anciently held and taught, in common, by the whole. To their state of separation, freed from valuable checks and beneficial safeguards which an unbroken union with other parts of the Church would have provided, it was unavoidable that each separated communion when left to itself should experience a

divergence from the grand central line of the original visible unity. In this isolated condition, the unchecked tendency of each communion has hardened into Decrees, Articles of Religion, Canons, Usages, Customs, and Constitutions, bearing the stamp of its own local peculiarities—the main part of which possibly is contradicted, condemned, or rejected by the two others. And yet each portion requires of all its clergy, and in some instances, of its laity also, a declared adherence to these local and national standards—standards in which, on a broad Catholic basis no one believes, and which bind no man's conscience.

Still further in each of the three independent and separated communions either popular or theological schools of interpretation exist, which running in the groove of national or local divergence from the simple creed of undivided Christendom, diverge still more materially in their own respective peculiar lines. For example, ever since the time of Bishop Burnet, the Scotch Erastian, a school of respectable Anglicans has existed which fondly imagined that the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Synod held in London in 1562 were Articles *of Faith*—an idea, the formal statement of which is sufficient to carry its own refutation. So amongst Latins and Orientals, the Council of Trent and the Synod of Bethlehem respectively

have been regarded in their results as carrying out a similar principle. Of course such explanations might be given in the future by authority, as should minimize apparent differences, or provide such expositions of apparently conflicting statements, as might ensure eventual agreement. What individuals, like Paolo Segneri, Christopher Davenport, and John Henry Newman have done so efficiently in part, can be completed in coming time, when the various portions of the Universal Church have been patiently prepared for the work.

In the meantime, it is impossible not to observe that the insular sentiments in question, and all such of a similar stamp, are a great hindrance to a due cultivation of the Re-union spirit. In each communion the dominant school of interpretation will be naturally found in favour of increasing and perpetuating the divergence from the others, and where State patronage is customary, as has been wisely observed, "The easiest of all ways to win local popularity is to pander to local ignorance, narrowness, pettiness, and prejudice, and to abuse heartily only those who are at too great a distance to take any notice of it."*

* From a remarkable paper in the *Church Journal* of New-York for 1866, to which the writer of this Essay is indebted for several valuable suggestions.

The great work to be attempted, therefore, is constantly to point out that, while individuals are bound to respect both the weaknesses and local peculiarities of national Churches, as well as their adopted formularies, yet that a superior allegiance is at all times and unquestionably due to the Universal Church, in its integrity. No Christian throughout Christendom is publicly called upon to believe in any local Church—the "One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church" being the alone object of the belief equally of Roman Catholics, Orientals and Anglicans. Hence it follows that the principle of the Church of England, maintained by a long catena of renowned divines, that what was delivered to, received, held, and taught by the Universal Church, before the schism of East and West, is now the Faith of Catholic Christians throughout the world, in England as elsewhere. Nothing can be added unless the ancient authority performs the work of addition, and such a work, through recognized difficulties, cannot be completely performed so as that Christendom would be likely to accept the additions until the restoration of Visible Unity by GOD'S grace has been accomplished. Local additions of separated Churches have only tended to intensify the evil of separation, and to work disquiet, fresh divisions, un-Catholic selfishness and national pride. In the Roman

Catholic Church there are certain *dogmata* required of each individual to be held *de fide* which were unknown to the Church Universal before the schism of East and West, and which are likewise unknown to either of the other two communions. For example, this is the case with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of GOD, as also with the questions of the Temporal Power of the Holy See, and of the Personal infallibility of the Pope when speaking in his official capacity as head of the Roman Church. On this last point certain writers of the Ultramontane school seem disposed to press the modern theory to its most extreme limits: while those of the moderate or Gallican schools, represented, for example, by Professor Döllinger, of Munich, and the Archbishop of Paris, are denounced because they hesitate to follow, unquestioned, the dominant section in the Roman communion. And the sympathy more or less of members of the Church of England reasonably enough is given to such men as the late Von Hirscher, Dean of Freiburg, to Bishop Kettler, of Mayence, and to Canon Bertrand, of Versailles, because they have been enabled to look beyond the narrow tyranny of a local Church and the temporary standards of a particular communion in contemplating, and attempting to supply, the present wants of Christendom;—sympathy offered

because it is obvious that such far-sighted teachers, who are before their age, are prepared to work for a reasonable reform wherever it can be shown that existing customs or recently-imposed *dogmata* vary from those which were unquestionably common to undivided Christendom; and so to labour for Re-union.

And now let the principle be faithfully applied to the Church of England. Unless Anglicans are prepared to claim for their communion an exclusive revelation, special privileges, and peculiar divine graces over and above those dispensed in other Christian countries, we cannot look for exemption from such imperfections as are so readily discovered by some amongst ourselves elsewhere. No portion of the Christian Family has undergone such considerable changes as the Church of England during the past four centuries. There is nothing moreover on *à priori* grounds to warrant us in supposing that our standard of Christian faith and practice is that which on authoritative investigation must infallibly be accepted as true by Roman Catholics and Orientals before visible Re-union is possible. When other communions are so freely and sometimes so ignorantly criticised, and when so many of our prelates patronize and support a schismatical organization like the Anglo-Continental Society, we must, in even-handed justice, be at least pre-

pared to admit that it is just within the bounds of possibility that we too may have varied from the principles and practices of the Catholic Church as a whole. We cannot dispute the probability that our own national standards or insular peculiarities may on enquiry be found to have deviated somewhat from the ancient standard of Catholic truth; for not the Church of England, but only the Universal Church is infallible. We should, moreover, be prepared frankly to allow that one popular school of interpretation—that for example which exalts the comparatively modern Articles at the expense of the more ancient liturgical formularies, which profanely links the names of Cranmer and Anne Askew with those of S. Polycarp and S. Agnes—goes even further in the direction of irregular divergency from ancient standards than the national formularies themselves appear to warrant. For instance, many both of the negative and positive propositions of our Articles are of very inferior importance as well to the statements of the Creeds as to the traditional customs and beliefs of other parts of the Christian Family. No one, for example, and consequently, could hold that it is of the same moment to accept a certain view of the "Doctrine" of the two Books of Homilies, as it is to receive *simpliciter et ex animo*, the Catholic dogma of the Resurrection

of the Body. The Doctrine of the Homilies may or may not be "godly and wholesome," whereas the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body is one of the most crucial and important of specific Christian truths. Or again, it can hardly be as necessary to accept the opinion that the Sacrament of Orders has "not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of GOD,"—a proposition maintained by the Twenty-fifth Article,—as to receive, in a spirit of faith, the cardinal verity that our Blessed SAVIOUR is "GOD of GOD, Light of Light, Very GOD of Very GOD, Begotten not made." Other instances of the comparative unimportance of the numerous propositions of the Thirty-nine Articles in comparison with the Creeds of the Church Universal will occur to every one who has become convinced that as the Church of England rightly disclaims national infallibility, so the theological opinions which are peculiar to herself must, of course, be explained by the consentient voice of Christendom if they should appear to be out of harmony with the general faith of Catholics everywhere and at all times. All this being admitted, therefore, it follows that, remembering our losses and in true humility, we should ever be on the watch to crush out self-satisfaction and to labour practically for the extension of the Re-union spirit, by the spread of which

alone—in conjunction with the grace of GOD—we can hope for an answer to our daily petitions for Peace. No word should fall from us which could in any degree widen the breach which exists. The best and not the worst motives should be ever imputed to the acts of those who are now unhappily separated from us, and a common principle at all times sought for, by which, in the future, united action might be honestly attempted. When so much is held in common, a sincere and Christian hope should be expressed that, upon enquiry, still more points of agreement might be discovered. In charity, too, we should pray and labour. We should implore the Blessed Paraclete, Who is the "Guide of the Church and Light of the World" to overrule the infirmities, the ignorance, the narrowness, the violence and the bitterness of our local sectionalism, to the furtherance of the great work of restoring visible Unity to the Church Universal; so that the unspeakable blessings which descended upon mankind in the early ages of Christianity, may again, like the dew, water abundantly the parched ground, now too barren and desolate. May former triumphs be repeated, new conquests made! Finally let our prayer be, and GOD of His infinite mercy answer it:—"Turn Thee again, O LORD, at the last, and be gracious unto Thy servants. O satisfy us with Thy

Mercy, and that soon; so shall we rejoice and be glad all the days of our life. Comfort us again now after the time that Thou hast plagued us, and for the years wherein we have suffered adversity. Show thy servants Thy work, and their children Thy glory. And the glorious Majesty of the LORD our GOD be upon us: prosper Thou the work of our hands upon us, O prosper Thou our handy-work."

DE Q.

X.

CORPORATE RE-UNION.

By AMBROSE L. M. PHILLIPPS DE LISLE, ESQ.

IT is a common observation of spiritual writers, that one of the most certain signs that a work is from GOD and according to His Spirit, is when it is opposed by men, and even by good men. S. Theresa used to say, that she mistrusted every work that lacked this sign: and S. Vincent of Paul, when he heard any design of his was thus opposed, used to rejoice, and felt additional confidence of its success. And what was this principle but the expression of what our LORD Himself had laid down, when He said "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you and persecute you?" But the saints thought it was an additional sign that a thing came from GOD, when its opponents were good men and pious men, when even they were invested with the authority of the Church of GOD. Of course they were only speaking of works and things which were not evidently evil, and which claimed to be directed to a good purpose. How immensely

S. Theresa was opposed in her holy undertakings by good and holy persons, and by those in authority! and the same we read of all the saints, and of the Saint of saints, Our LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. The reason is obvious: when GOD inspires His servants to undertake any work for His Glory, the Devil immediately strives against it, and, in order to bring it into discredit with good men, he endeavours to set other good men, and even the authorities of the Church against it, for in such matters as these, they are liable, like the rest of us, to err: though it would not be lawful to uphold any work, which after a long-continued investigation and examination Ecclesiastical Authority *persevered* in condemning. On the other hand it is very profitable for any work of GOD to be opposed at first, and even to be disapproved by Church Authorities on mistaken representations, inasmuch as it leads to further investigations, to a more accurate sifting of principles and objects, and to a thorough testing of the spirit from which an undertaking springs. "Try the spirits," says the Inspired Apostle; and "the discernment of spirits" is one of the graces conferred by the HOLY GHOST. We must not therefore wonder or repine, if the great work, which we have laboured for both by prayer and other endeavours—the Re-union of Christendom—has shared the usual fate of

all other works of GOD. It has been misrepresented, vilified, calumniated and condemned. But in this we only see an additional mark that it is of GOD.

The Catholic Church has in all ages approved and encouraged every legitimate effort for the Corporate Re-union of Christendom; and as the late Cardinal Wiseman said to the writer of this Essay, only a few days before his death, "No Orthodox Catholic can oppose the *Corporate Re-union* of any separated branch of the baptised body with our Catholic Mother, the parent stock, from which it has been severed."

All Church history verifies the truth of this statement and the soundness of this maxim. And if we examine it closer, we shall find that nothing but the most complete misunderstanding of the whole question can have set any well-disposed Catholic against so holy an object as the Restoration of Visible Unity amongst the numberless divisions of Christendom.

When a Catholic advocates the Corporate Re-union of Christendom he advocates the re-union of conflicting bodies of Christians in one and the same faith. No Catholic in advocating such a Re-union for a single moment would admit that the Catholic Church of CHRIST has ever lost her essential unity. The Catholic Church can no more lose her unity, than she can cease to be. There never has been a time

when there were not both schisms and heresies, and if therefore the existence of the latter could impair the Unity of the Catholic Church, there never would have been a Catholic Church on earth, and the profession in the Apostles' Creed "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church" would have been but the utterance of a falsehood. On the other hand heresies and schisms cannot form a portion of the Catholic Church, for if so they would cease to be what they are—heresies and schisms. The Catholic Church, or the Kingdom of Heaven, is compared by our LORD to a tree, very small at first, but which in its after-growth was to fill the whole earth. Now when the violence of the tempest, or any other cause, severed from this goodly tree any of its branches, the tree itself remained what it was before—a tree—but maimed in its proportions. The severed branch would lose its connexion with the tree, but the tree itself would neither lose its life nor its original properties. No Catholic, therefore, in advocating the Corporate Re-union of any divided branch of Christians with the parent stock, ever dreams of restoring *Unity* to the Catholic Church, for she has never lost it, but he does believe that such a Re-union would restore *Catholicity* to any such divided branch.

Again the Catholic advocate of Corporate Re-union is sometimes accused of a wish to

tamper with the integrity of Catholic Faith, to compromise some essential principle of the Catholic Religion, in order to effect a mere apparent external union of men not holding the same doctrines. It is wonderful that any honest Catholic can bring such a charge as this against his Catholic brother who upholds the Corporate Re-union. Does he not at once perceive that he is making a charge that is utterly groundless, from the very fact that he is charging him with upholding a scheme which the simplest child must know would be impossible of realization; for how could a Corporate Reunion between separate branches of Christians with the Catholic Church be effected without the consent of the authorities of the latter, and without the concurrence of that great centre of Catholic Unity the Holy See of S. Peter? The Re-union then which is advocated by Catholics between ourselves and our separated brethren is not a Union based on compromise or on any sacrifice of principle, it is a Union based on the mutual recognition of Catholic Truth, and submission to the authority of Our LORD JESUS CHRIST, as manifested in His Visible Church.

On the other hand in their first yearnings after Union, it is very natural that our separated brethren, who from their point of view regard Catholicity and Unity in a different light from ours, should regard such a Union also in the

same imperfect Light. It is a necessary and natural consequence of their position, but once that a Re-union is really at hand, they will then view it as we do. The work of the HOLY GHOST is a gradual work. GOD takes a man as he finds him, and from the imperfect glimmerings of Truth He leads him on to its full possession. If we want our separated brethren to be brought to the full measure of truth, let us not wrangle with them about the imperfection of their present notions, but rather let us aid them in their progress to a more perfect perception of Divine Light. If we insist upon their holding every point of belief with a perfectly Catholic accuracy in the beginning of our negociations, we are expecting them to be at first what they can only become as the result and final issue of the negociation—we are simply reversing the order of things, attempting to roof our edifice before we have laid its foundations.

It would almost seem a waste of time to argue such a point, or to attempt to vindicate the principle of a Corporate Re-union, were it not for the pertinacious opposition of some excellent men among our fellow Catholics, who still persist in misunderstanding what is so very simple, and who are thus induced (unintentionally no doubt) to misrepresent our object and to condemn our work. We will only, in reply

to their objections and their misrepresentations, once more protest that the idea of Corporate Re-union does not involve any compromise of any essential principle of Catholic Faith or Catholic Discipline, but that it contemplates the Union of all Christians in the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of JESUS CHRIST, acknowledging the same Divine truths, and indissolubly knit together around the great centre of Catholic Unity the Chair of the Blessed Peter. Now to say that such an idea as this is uncatholic or heterodox is to give the lie to Holy Church in her continued action throughout all ages of her history: it is to contradict and insult the authority of the Œcumenical Councils of Lyons and of Florence, it is to gainsay the teaching of her greatest doctors and fathers, and to proclaim a policy, the only issue of which would be the perpetual prolongation of heresy and schism, and the definitive reversal of the design and the prayer of JESUS CHRIST Our LORD.

But to come to our immediate purpose, that which we have now consistently and continually advocated for more than thirty years—the Re-union of the Anglican and Catholic Churches, it will be well to lay before our readers a few facts connected with the origin and progress of this movement, which has now assumed such important dimensions. As

far back as the year 1841, the writer of this Essay induced His late Eminence Cardinal Wiseman to publish his remarkable Letter, addressed to the late Earl of Shrewsbury, in favour of this Corporate Re-union. To the principles avowed and advocated in that Letter, His Eminence never ceased to adhere, as he testified to the same writer only a few weeks before his death. But when in the year 1857 this great movement first began to assume a definite shape,* the writer of this Essay addressed a letter to the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation *de Propagandâ Fide*, informing His Eminence, that such a scheme was entertained for the Organic and Corporate Re-union of the Anglican with the Catholic Church, and that though there was no immediate prospect of any practical result, still that the party in the Anglican Church who advocated such a Union was an increasing party, while the old High Church party, on whose co-operation they would ultimately rely for assistance and success, constituted a majority of the Anglican Hierarchy and Clergy. The writer then went into minute details to explain the facts upon which his statements were grounded, and he concluded his letter with asking whether such a scheme would be likely

* The Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom was established in 1857. *Vide* Appendix I.

to meet with the approval of the holy See and the blessing of S. Peter's successor.

To this letter, written on the 18th May, 1857, the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation *de Propagandâ Fide* returned the following answer dated the 8th June of the same year :—

Illme Dne,—Literæ Dom. Tuæ die 18 Maii nuper elapsi datæ id in mei notitiam detulerunt, quod maximè mihi consolationi fuit. Nihil enim mihi antiquius, nihil magis in votis meis esse potest pro eâ, quæ fungor, S. hujus Congregationis Præfecturâ, quam ut id, Deo favente, executioni mandetur, quod Dom. Tua prædictis in Literis haud difficile futurum significavit. Quod quidem dum libenter admodum SSmo D. N. Pio P.P. IX. referendum curabo, statim ac Romam reversus fuerit, haud profectò omittam in Præsentiâ Dei Optimi Maximi enixè rogare ut quod nunc sperare licet, id ad Dei Gloriam, atque ad æternam animarum salutem brevi felicem ad exitum perducatur. Cæterùm Tibi gratias ago etiam atque etiam, atque omnia fausta prosperaque adprecabor.

Dom. Tuæ, Addictissimus,

Alexander, Card. Barnabò,
Præfectus.

Cajetanus, Archiepiscopus Thebarum,
à Secretis.

Romæ ex æd. S. Congregationis de P. F.
Die 8 Junii 1857.*

* Honourable Sir,—Your letter of the 18th of this last

At the same time that I wrote to Cardinal Barnabò I published an Essay on the same great subject, entitled "On the Future Unity of Christendom," which has been probably seen by most of my readers. Of this Essay, as soon as I could get it properly prepared and bound, I sent a copy to Cardinal Barnabò, and one also to His Holiness the Pope. But in the meanwhile before my tract could reach Rome, an enemy of the Re-union movement dispatched to the Congregation *de Propagandâ Fide* a most unfair representation of its contents, stating that I had taken a line of argument the very opposite

May brought to my knowledge that which is a matter of the greatest consolation to me. For there is nothing more according to ancient precedent or that could be more in harmony with my own wishes as Prefect of this Sacred Congregation, than that by the goodness of GOD that issue should be brought about, which you in your letter believe to be not so difficult to effect.

I will willingly communicate what you state to our Holy Father Pope Pius IX. as soon as he returns to Rome, while I will not fail in the meantime, in the Presence of ALMIGHTY GOD, earnestly to beseech of Him that that, which it now seems lawful to hope for, may speedily be brought to a prosperous issue, for His greater glory and for the eternal salvation of souls. For the rest I thank you again and again and I wish you every blessing.

I remain,

Honourable Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

ALEXANDER, CARDINAL BARNABÒ.

Prefect of the Holy Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith.

CAJETAN, ARCHBISHOP OF THEBES,

Private Secretary.

Rome, from the College of the Propagation of the Faith, June 8th, 1857.

to the one I had in reality followed; and among other things that I had asserted that there was no difference between the rule of faith as taught by the Catholic Church and that which was professed by Anglicans, and that *on that account* there was no obstacle to a Corporate Re-union between Anglicans and Catholics, and that such a Re-union might take place without any renunciation of Protestant error on the Anglican side; and moreover that the Anglican Church in her present position was quite on a par with the Catholic Church herself.

This denunciation of my Essay was made to the Sacred Congregation, before the arrival of the two copies of it, which I sent to Rome (as I have already mentioned), but on their reaching their destination, Cardinal Barnabò wrote me a second letter, in which he mentioned the accusations, while he acknowledged the receipt of my Essay, which he said he had ordered to be translated, in order to be better able to judge of its contents. But, as was quite natural, he added that if the report of it was correct, nothing could be further from his intentions than to give the slightest encouragement to any proposal for a Re-union on such conditions—but on the other hand he added the following words.

"Contrà vero si quæ mihi nuntiata sunt falsa existunt aut perperam sunt intellecta, sique

Unio Anglicanorum cum Ecclesia Romana eo sensu intenditur, ad promovetur, ut illi quovis errore ac schismate ejurato Doctrinam Catholicam sincerè amplecti Romanoque Pontifici tanquam Christi Vicario ac Supremo Ecclesiæ Capiti subesse velint, potes existimare benignitatem hujus Sanctæ Sedis Anglicanis omnibus ac singulis paratissimam fore, cum nihil magis optet amantissima Mater, quàm ut omnes pro quibus Christus mortuus est, atque ii præsertim qui Christiano Nomine gloriantur, in portum salutis æternæ, quæ sola Catholica Ecclesia est, recipiantur."*

As my readers will naturally conclude, I lost no time to write to the Cardinal a full explanation of my Essay, of which moreover he now possessed a copy, which he had ordered to be translated: and I showed him that nothing was further from my intentions than to connive at

* "But, on the other hand, if the report sent me be untrue or the result of a misunderstanding of your Essay, and if the Union of the Anglicans with the Roman Church is intended and promoted in this sense, that they laying aside all error and schism are willing to embrace in sincerity Catholic Doctrine and to accept the Supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, as the Chief Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth and the Visible Head of His Church, you may count upon the kindness with which this Holy See would be ready to treat with the Anglicans whether collectively or individually, for there is nothing which the most loving Mother more earnestly desires than that all for whom Christ died, especially they who glory in the Christian Name, should be received into the bosom of the Catholic Church, in which alone is the haven of Salvation."

any Protestant error, or to imagine that any Re-union between the Anglicans and ourselves could be brought about as long as they adhered to any error condemned by the Catholic Church, or until they should be willing to acknowledge the Primacy of the Holy See.

From this correspondence it will be abundantly evident, that the highest authorities in Rome approve of the principle of a Corporate Re-union, provided such a Union be carried out on sound and orthodox principles. In fact, if it were not for the senseless opposition of superficial men, who misunderstand or misrepresent our object, it would seem superfluous even to argue the point, for it is clear from the whole history of the Catholic Church, that in every period of her career it has been her hearty desire, and her constant policy, to reunite to her communion, not merely individuals, but whole bodies of separated Christians. And how otherwise is it possible for heresy and schism to be rooted out, how else are all mankind to be brought into the profession of the saving truths of Catholicity? If our zeal be confined to individuals, and not extended to the bodies to which they belong, we may reunite a few, but schism and division will be perpetuated: and Christians instead of becoming One, as CHRIST and His FATHER are One, will remain in a condition of perpetual warfare and con-

flict, fighting against one another, instead of striving to subdue the whole world to the Faith of JESUS CHRIST. What is it but the divisions of Christendom, which have robbed Christendom of its distinctive Christian character, and of all collective action in the world for a common Christian purpose? What is it, but the same divisions, which render a Christian polity impossible in any Christian country?

How can there be Christian legislation on the matter of secular education, so long as the community is subdivided into so many contending communions, each anathematizing the other? The indifferentism of modern legislation is evidently a great evil, but how can it be avoided, when nations are split up into such a variety of sects? The infidelity of the present generation, increasing every day, is an evil greater still, but who can wonder at it, when the foundations of all belief are undermined by the recriminations and the furious controversies of contending Christians? Who can wonder at the continued increase of immorality and crime when Christians disagree about the very Fountain, from which alone any intelligible distinction between Right and Wrong can flow? What else is the true secret of the anti-social and revolutionary principles of the present day? And, on a larger scale still, to what else are we to attribute the utter disregard of public right,

of the sanctity of treaties, and of international obligation, which manifestly spring from the weakening of the religious Principle, as the weakening of that has itself sprung from the anarchy of religious division? Writers, like those in the *Dublin Review* or like the furious zealots of *The Monde*, complain of religious division, and would cure it by lighting once more the fires of the Inquisition, but they forget that in the very nature of things nothing but *argument* can exterminate *error*: they would deal with error, as if it were a physical rather than an intellectual evil, and as if force could convince the human mind: they fall into the old blunder of Pagan legislation in defiance of all the lessons of history, and they forget all the experience to be derived from the facts and precedents everywhere exhibited during the last three centuries. We, who advocate Corporate and dogmatic Re-union, are assuredly the very last people to advocate political and religious indifference,—the very last to deprecate or decry Christian legislation, or to assert the impious maxim that statesmen owe no responsibility to the Law of GOD, and that the State should be indifferent to Truth, whether natural or revealed. But we do contend that there is but one effectual way for the State to uphold Divine Truth, and that is not by the exercise of penalties, but by giving the freest development to the

Church of CHRIST in her preaching department and in the exercise of her Ministry. It is only by the preaching of Union, and the force of religious argument, that religious error, wherever it exists, is to be vanquished, as it is equally certain that sanctity and holy example are the strongest arguments of the Truth, from which they spring.

Some Catholics however, much as they would admit these general principles, contend against such efforts as ours in favour of Re-union; because, say they, we do not go far enough. Why do we talk only of reuniting the three great bodies of Christians, Latins, Greeks, and Anglicans? Why not include the various sects of English dissenters, why omit the German Lutherans, or the French and Swiss Calvinists? Our answer is plain, we exclude no one, no corporate body of Christians, however heterodox, from our Re-union scheme; but we feel that if once the three great bodies, which still profess so much that is common to each, could be led from what they already agree upon to a still higher and closer agreement, we should have laid the foundations for a Union, which in the end would swallow up all minor differences, to replace them with that legitimate diversity of human opinion on open questions, which it was never the intention of the Divine Founder of Christianity to coerce nor to efface. So far

from it, one of the most remarkable characteristics of Christianity, as foretold by the Royal Progenitor of the "Son of David," was, that it should be "circumdata varietate," as worded in the venerable version of the Vulgate. Revelation does not annul the freedom of the human mind, it regulates it and conserves it, as law regulates and upholds the exercise of civil liberty. Atheism is no more the genuine fruit of free thought than anarchy and plunder are the legitimate offspring of social freedom. The proofs and the evidences are different, but the force of religious argument is as strong and as convincing within the limits of its own sphere as the inductions of science in establishing the grand facts elucidated by scientific research. Is it a mark of a free and intelligent mind at the present day to reject the Copernican Theory? Religious conviction is not elaborated by the same method, as the definitions of science, but it is no less sure nor less cogent, when the mind of man will give it a fair and legitimate consideration. The Christian Church has never asked for more, though it is a necessary characteristic of her message to mankind, that they and they only are to benefit by it, who will listen to it and profit by it.

Another objection that is sometimes urged against our efforts for Corporate Re-union—and it is an objection not devoid of force, is that

those who argue in its behalf are disagreed as to the basis of Re-union, and therefore are never likely to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion, and consequently that it is merely waste of time to pursue an object which is evidently a phantom, and on this very account utterly unattainable.

The answer to this objection is very simple. Until Re-union is finally accomplished, of course there will be different opinions not only as to its basis, but as to the mode of attaining it. This necessarily follows from the previous fact of the existing divisions of faith and practice among the different communions.

The *Orthodox* Church of the East (so she styles herself) will never unite with the Anglican Church, until the latter has abandoned the Protestant errors contained in her Thirty-nine Articles and accepted those great Catholic truths, which the Anglican Reformers of the sixteenth century denied, and as a protest against which they composed their Thirty-nine Articles. An able Greek writer in the *Union Chrétienne*, a Greek periodical published at Paris, has expressly stated this quite recently and argued the point most elaborately: showing that there must be an explicit declaration from the Anglican bishops in favour of the seven sacraments, of the Eucharistic sacrifice of the new law, of the Real Presence, and transubstantiation of

the elements in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, of the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Angels and Saints, and of the perpetual infallibility of the visible Catholic Church of CHRIST here upon earth; and that the souls of the faithful departed are benefited by the prayers and alms of their fellow Christians on earth, and especially by the most Holy Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of CHRIST. Upon all these points and others also relating to free will, original sin, predestination, and good works, the Eastern Church is equally explicit, and, without an explicit acknowledgment of these vital Catholic truths, she will never form a union with the Anglican Church, or any other body of Protestants.

We need scarcely say that upon all these points our own Latin Catholic Church is equally explicit, and with us there is one other point, which we at least regard as equally vital, and that is the acknowledgment of the Primacy of S. Peter's Chair: we cannot see how without this, it is possible to preserve any unity in the Christian Church. The Greeks acknowledge with ourselves that our LORD conferred the Primacy originally upon S. Peter, but they assert that after S. Peter's death it was bequeathed to the Church, and that the Church had the power of conferring it, or not, upon any individual episcopal see. They acknowledge

that the Church did in fact confer it upon the Roman See in honour of the prince of the Apostles, who in that city sealed his testimony by a glorious martyrdom. We Latins, on the other hand, while we claim a still higher foundation for the Papal Primacy, may at least be fairly entitled to ask of our Oriental brethren, why in the acknowledging as they do, that the Primacy of the Christian Church, was by the consent of the whole Episcopate conferred upon S. Peter's successors, the Bishops of the Roman See, they should at any subsequent period have thrown off their communion with that Apostolic See, without at any rate (*on their own principle*) calling upon the whole Church to ratify their act, and to transfer the Primacy of Peter to some other see? This the Greeks have never done: they have indeed accused the Popes of heresy, and have over and over again asserted, that, by falling into heresy, the Popes have *ipso facto* incurred the loss of that Primacy, which (on their own showing) the Universal Church had originally conferred upon them: but if there were true ground for this assertion, how comes it that they have never been able to convene an Œcumenical Council to confirm the charge, and to ratify their conclusion that the Primacy should be transferred to some other see? Is it, that when JESUS CHRIST Himself instituted a Primacy even amongst His Own

Apostles (for the Greeks even admit this) and in so doing showed that He deemed it needful for the peace and order of His Church,—is, it (I say), that they would assert in contradiction to the infinite wisdom of Our LORD and Master, that a Primacy for the whole Church was not necessary, was even disadvantageous? Nor is it any reply to this question to affirm, (what all Catholics admit) that, in the strict sense of the term, CHRIST alone is the Head of the Church; this was as true during the lifetime of S. Peter, as it is now, or as it has ever been. CHRIST alone, in the strict sense of the term, is the Head of the Church, whether in each diocese, or in the whole Church collectively: but the question is, whether in each diocese for the sake of unity and good order, for the continuance of the Priesthood, for the continuation of that teaching, which Our LORD declared should continue "even until the end of the world," for the perpetuation of the sacraments and of that Holy Sacrifice in which "we show forth the death of the LORD until He come again;" the question is, whether for all these purposes it is not necessary that there should ever be, as there ever has been, a Diocesan Bishop, as the successor of the Apostles, and the Vicar of CHRIST JESUS in that particular Diocese? And whether if there be that necessity for each Diocese, which the Greeks acknowledge as we

do, that necessity is not stronger still for the whole Church, consisting as she does of so many various and conflicting nations? Whether (I say) it is not needful for the unity and welfare of the Catholic Church at large, that as each Diocese possesses a Vicar of JESUS CHRIST specially ordained to represent the Divine Master in that local portion of his Flock, so the whole Church should look to that Bishop, whom all antiquity concurs in calling the successor of Peter, as the general and supreme Vicar of Its Divine Founder? Suppose for a moment that the Papacy were abolished, what would be its effect upon Christendom? Does any sane man pretend that such an abolition would tend to unity? But would it not tend to still further division? Would it weaken or strengthen the religious principle among mankind? Who would rejoice at it? Would it be the Infidel, or the Believer? The Sectary or the Catholic? We are not of that school, which delights in extreme assertions of the power, or the infallibility of the Papacy; we shut not our eyes to the facts of Ecclesiastical History. We acknowledge the legitimate force of whatever argument can fairly be deduced from any such facts, but it is precisely on this very ground that we contend for the absolute necessity of the Primacy of S. Peter's successors in order to maintain the unity and vitality of the whole Church. We believe

that the infallibility of the Catholic Church is a collective gift, that it is inherent in no one separately and personally, but that it is shared conjointly by the whole Episcopate in its collective action, and separately only in so far as separate action is in strict conformity to the Œcumenical Laws of the whole Church and her Œcumenical Tradition: but believing this, and what Catholic will deny it? must we not all the more acknowledge, that the highest and most eminent share of this glorious Prerogative, the Infallible guidance of the Holy Spirit, belongs to the successor of S. Peter, the Bishop of the Holy See? We say not that it belongs to him, so much in his individual and separate capacity, but in his relations collectively with the whole Church, and the rest of the Universal Episcopate. Affirming this, and we believe that in so doing we are backed by the Voice of Antiquity, we can at once account for the partial and individual backslidings of some of the Popes, and yet on the other that this fact, lamentable as it is, has never impaired the force of their general authority, nor the utility of their perpetual Primacy. If the members of the Greek Church will not now, as in the days of S. Chrysostom and S. Basil, accept the Primacy of the Holy See, let them at least in common consistency show us, where else this Primacy, which they confess was originally conceded by

Our LORD to Peter, now resides, or ought to reside? It is not for us, who are mere laymen, to argue further or more deeply on this momentous question: it is not for us, who are the advocates of Peace and Re-union, to assume a controversial tone towards that venerable Eastern Church, which has so gloriously through centuries of Mahometan persecution contended for the great cardinal dogmas of the Christian faith; but we do implore of our Oriental brethren calmly to consider the foundations of that Primacy, which claims to be built upon the divine word of CHRIST to His apostle Peter "I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."

We are come to a strange period of the Church's History, but to a still stranger and more terrible one of this world's history. Look around and what do we see on all sides? Wars and bloodshed from one end of the earth to the other! Weapons of destruction on a scale that is literally appalling! One destructive invention succeeding another with a rapidity that baffles all calculation, and that renders nugatory a previous outlay of millions sterling! We see nation rising against nation, on the ground of what is now termed the inherent right of each nationality to govern itself—and what is this, but to assert a principle that must

inevitably dissolve all existing empires and kingdoms, if it be once fairly worked out? We behold seditions everywhere at work, everywhere undermining the social and political framework of each country. When were pestilences both among men and beasts more general or more terrible? or famines on a greater scale, notwithstanding the boasted triumphs of Free Trade? When in all history were earthquakes so frequent or so destructive? One thing alone of the terrible calamities, which our LORD foretold, still remains unfulfilled: we do not yet witness the darkening of the sun, the moon has not yet refused to give her light. But the moral and metaphorical Sun of Divine Revelation has been obscured by the impiety of man: in his vain reasonings the superficial upholder of a science, "that puffeth up," has dared to question the Truths of Revelation, though he has not ventured to find a substitute for it: and the metaphorical Moon, GOD'S Holy Church, which borrows her light from the everlasting Sun of Righteousness, is turned into blood: that is to say, a metaphorical death has been inflicted upon her Prelates, her Priests, and her Religious, especially in that land of Italy, where of old GOD had placed Her Chief Citadel; and who knows what further and more terrible accomplishment of that Divine Prediction may still be in store for her? All things

seem to betoken that we are rapidly approaching the termination of what our LORD terms "the Times of the Gentiles," that is the time during which the nations converted to Christianity were to constitute GOD'S favoured people, occupying the position formerly held by the Children of Abraham. S. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans warns us of the coming of this eventful time: S. Peter foretells it also. But on the other hand, the whole of the inspired volume points to a great moral reaction, to a grand triumph of the Church, after this last conflict shall be past, when Unity shall reign from one end of the earth to the other, when Jew and Gentile shall combine in one unanimous adoration of JESUS CHRIST, and when the Kingdom of Messiah shall swallow up all the kingdoms and empires that have ever been established here below.

Is this then a time for Christians to uphold their past divisions? is it not rather a time for mutual charity, for mutual forbearance, for mutual explanation? A voice has gone forth at least on one side of the wall of separation calling all men to Unity in the Truth: that great and remarkable man, the venerable Dr. Pusey, has come forth with all the weight of his gigantic learning, with all the energy of a boundless charity, to call upon all the members of his own Communion to go back to the fountain of Primitive Tradition, and laying aside the

asperities of polemical controversy, by mutual explanations, and orthodox interpretation of dubious formularies, to prepare the way for a general pacification of Christendom. Others, like the learned and zealous Dr. F. G. Lee, have followed in the same noble track, and by the restoration of Catholic Ritual as the outward expression of a true dogmatic revival in the Anglican Church, are preparing that Church, we trust eventually *as a whole*, for a Corporate Re-union with Catholic Christendom. If we look to the East, although the spirit of ancient prejudice still remains amongst many of the learned clergy of the Eastern Church, still we can discern a marvellous desire for Union, and a growing conviction of the destructive influence of the internal divisions in the Christian Family. This is surely a cheering symptom, and it may serve in some degree to counterbalance the opposite movement, which we must acknowledge is widening and deepening towards Infidelity. Infidelity is the great enemy, against which in our day Christianity has to contend. But if Christianity continue as heretofore, to be represented by a divided body, agreeing in little else than in cursing and hating one another, it is quite clear that an enormous advantage will be given to the Infidel Foe. It is on this account that we have always insisted that the first and most important step on the Christian

side is to labour toward effecting a Corporate Re-union, and an extinction of our manifold differences. If even our Blessed SAVIOUR had not insisted on the organic Union of His Followers, if He had never prayed "that they might be One even as He and the FATHER are One," still even common sense, common policy, and a common danger, would suggest at any rate the endeavour to effect it: nor can we understand, how any zealous Christian, still less any zealous Catholic, can oppose the undertaking. And yet some of the best Catholics do oppose it, and by misunderstanding or misrepresenting our motives, or our means, labour to bring it into disrepute.

Let us in conclusion briefly state some of the objections which are thus brought, and let us see how far they deserve our consideration: and in doing so at present I shall confine myself for the most part to the question of a Corporate Re-union between the Anglican Church and the Catholic Church.

It will be said, then, by the objector, and especially the Catholic objector, nothing is impossible to GOD, and the more we ask of Him the more we may look to gain; but still, His indications in Providence are often our guide what to ask and what not to ask. We ask what is probable; we do not ask definitely that England should be converted to Catholicism in

a day; such a prayer (unless under the authority of a particular inspiration) would be presumptuous, as being a prayer for a miracle. Now then the question is, whether the conversion of that Corporate Body, which we call the Anglican Church, would not be in the same general sense a miracle? in the same sense in which it would be a miracle for the Thames to change its course, and run into the sea at the Wash instead of the Nore. Certainly in the course of ages such a change of direction might take place without miracle; by the stopping up of a gorge, or the alteration of a level. But we should not pray for it; and if we wished to divert the stream from London, we should cut a canal at Eton or Twickenham; we should carry the innumerable drops of water our own way by forming a new bed by our own labour; and for the success of this project we might perhaps reasonably pray.

Now I beg my readers to observe I am stating the objections of our opponents, as I think, in the strongest way in which they can be put, and in fact almost in the very words in which they were once put before me.

Such an objector might continue: that the Anglican Church is *sui generis*; it is not a collection of individuals; but it is a bed, a river-bed, formed in the course of ages, depending on external facts, such as political, civil, and social

arrangements. Viewed in its structure it has never been more than partially Catholic. If its ritual has been mainly such, yet its Articles are the historical offspring of Luther and Calvin. And its Ecclesiastical organization has ever been, in its fundamental principle, Erastian. To make that actual, visible, tangible body Catholic, would be simply to make a new creation. It would be to turn a Panther into a Hind: there are great similarities between a Panther and a Hind: still they are possessed of separate natures, and a change from one to the other would be a destruction and reproduction, not a process. It could be done perhaps without a miracle in a succession of ages, but in any assignable period, no.

See, such an objector would continue, what would be needed to bring the Anglican Church into a condition capable of Union with the Catholic body. There have ever been three great parties in it. The Rod of Aaron (so to call it) must swallow up the serpents of the Magicians. That Rod has grown of late years: doubtless. But the history of opinion, and of Anglican opinion, has ever been a course of reactions. Look at ourselves even, as an illustration of this; Truths *de Fide* are unchangeable and indefectible: but when you come to the opinions of the schools, to the questions still open to Theological controversy

in the Catholic Church, you see at one period the Gallican Theory (as it is termed) at another the Ultramontane in the ascendant. We can remember when the latter was upheld by only a few able writers like Lamennais, but rejected by the overwhelming majority of Catholic authors. We have lived to see it in the ascendant; but close observers tell us that a reaction is once more setting in against it—a reaction, that will sweep it from the face of Catholicity. How much less then can we count upon the permanence of any particular Theological current in such a discordant body as the Anglican Church? The chance is, humanly speaking, that the Catholic movement in the Anglican Church, being itself a reaction, will meet with a reaction: but suppose it does not. Then it has to absorb into itself the Evangelical and the Broad Church parties. When it has done this, the Erastian party, which embraces all three, and against which there is no reaction at present, which ever *has* been, which *is* the foundation of Anglicanism, must begin to change itself. We may safely say all parties ever have been Erastian. Archbishop Whitgift, a Calvinist, was an Erastian, as much opposed to the Puritans as Laud was. And Bishop Hoadley, the representative of the Broad Church, was of course emphatically an Erastian. But let us keep to the Catholic party: they were Erastian in Laud,

they are Erastian in their most advanced phase now. Look at their party tactics: what was their rejection of Gladstone at Oxford, what is their glorification of his political antagonist, Disraeli, but an Erastian policy? and who are specially the promoters of it but the *Union Review*, and the party it represents?

When then we come to consider the possibility of the Established Church becoming capable of Catholicism, we must suppose its Evangelical party adding to its tenets the Puritanism of Cartwright, as well as disowning at the same time its own and Cartwright's Protestantism: we must suppose the Catholic party recalling the poor Non-jurors and accepting their anti-Erastianism, while preserving and perfecting its own orthodoxy; and the Broad Church party denying that Royal Supremacy, which is the boast of members of it, as different from each other in opinion as Tillotson, Arnold, and Colenso. We must anticipate the Catholic party, first beating two foes, each as strong as itself, and then taking the new step, never yet dreamed of except by the Non-jurors, who in consequence left the establishment, and by the first authors of the "*Tracts for the Times*," of the new step of throwing off the supremacy of the State.

Then comes another question, involved indeed, but not brought out clearly, in what I have been saying. Who are meant by the members

of each party, the Clergy only or the Laity also? It is a miracle, if the Catholic party among the Clergy of the establishment manage to swallow up the Evangelical and the Broad Church; but how much more difficult an idea is it to contemplate, that they should absorb the whole Laity of their Communion, of whom but a fraction is with them and a great portion Evangelical, a greater Broad Church, and a still greater, alas, without any faith at all.

Moreover, how is it possible to forget that the Established Church is the Church of *England*? That Dissenters are, both in their own estimation and in that of its own members, in some sense a portion of it; and that even were its own proper laity Catholic in belief, the whole population of England, of which Dissenters form perhaps not less than a half, would, as represented by Parliament, still claim it as their own? and, of course, when it came to the point, they would have fact and power on their side. It is indeed hard to conceive that the constitution of the Church of England, as settled by Act of Parliament, can be made fit for Re-union with the Catholic Church, till political parties, as such, with the great interests of the Nation, the country party, the manufacturing, the trade, become Catholic as parties. Before that takes place, and sooner than it will, there might seem

a still greater probability that the Established Church will cease to be, in consequence of the Free Church and voluntary principle and movement. So that from this point of view at least it is difficult, if not quite impossible, to conceive the Establishment running into Catholicism, any more than we can conceive the Thames running into the Wash.

Having now put before our Readers some of the objections, which may be fairly urged against the feasibility of our Union scheme, we must crave their indulgence, before we close our article, while we set forth what we have to say in reply to these objections.

In the first place, let me observe that though I have put the objections into the mouth of a Catholic, they are for the most part what might occur to a member of the Church of England or any other communion; they are what might be urged with equal force by even a Rationalist in the columns of the *Times*, or the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

The objection in fact amounts to this: it is impossible to make England Catholic again; as impossible as it would be to change the course of the Thames, or to empty that River into the Wash instead of the Nore. Now we can understand such an objection as this coming from one who disbelieved in Christianity, or who abhorred

Catholicism, or from one who agreed heart and soul with the Protestantism of the Establishment, or the still vaguer Protestantism of England at large: but what we find it difficult to understand, is how such an objection can proceed from any one who believes in the divine force of Catholicism, or who believes that the command to teach all nations was given to His Church by a GOD-MAN. Is it consistent with that belief to regard its fulfilment as an impossibility? but if the Catholic objector will own the possibility of converting England to Catholicity, he must *à fortiori* own the possibility of converting the Anglican Church, which is but a portion, though the most eminent portion of England. If, on the other hand, he deny that possibility, I simply reply, that he is no Catholic, or a very poor one. But I assume that he admits it to be possible, as possible as it is to convert any other nation, or as possible as it is to fulfil the command of CHRIST, "go ye and teach *all* Nations."

Well, then, the question at once comes to this. what is the readiest means of converting England; what would seem to be, under the existing circumstances of the case, most in harmony with what Divine Providence, and the Spirit of GOD, is actually doing amongst us? Is there any Catholic movement observable among any portion of the English people? and if so,

where is it? what do we see? Assuredly no one will deny that ever since the year 1833, when the illustrious Newman, in conjunction with the learned Dr. Pusey, first commenced the publication of the celebrated "*Tracts for the Times*," a most remarkable movement towards Catholic principles has set in in the Anglican Church; we will not call it a corporate movement in its first commencement, but it was surely intended to be so, and in the sequel if it has not become so, we know not what movement could ever claim such a designation. I myself well remember in the early part of the year 1834 the three first of this series of tracts were placed in my hands by a cousin of mine, a Canon of Lichfield Cathedral, and in commending them to my perusal, he said, not unnaturally, "I think you will find them somewhat in your line!" On the following day, when I had read them, he asked me what I thought of them, and I replied: "I will tell you what I think of them; these tracts are the commencement of a movement, the end of which will be the Re-union of your Church with the Mother Church."

So I said three and thirty years ago, and I claim credit to myself for having said it—and I say now, looking back to that day, and looking back on all that has happened since in the Church of England,—it was the commencement of a Catholic *Revolution* in the

English Church. In the sixteenth century there was another movement in this same Church, but then, alas! it was a movement towards Protestantism, and that movement inaugurated a Protestant Revolution in the National Church; we know the history of that Revolution, how small it was in its beginnings, how it was at first persecuted, and then aided by the State, and by the Ecclesiastical authorities; how Protestant errors were broached at Paul's Cross, and in other less eminent pulpits, and how they gradually spread and infected the majority of the Anglican clergy, till at length, political circumstances favouring the current, the severance of this great Church was at last effected from the parent stock, and as our holy King, St. Edward the Confessor, had foretold on his dying bed in the Palace of Westminster nearly five hundred years before, the "Green Tree" of old England "*was cut down*," and "*carried to the distance of three furlongs from his own root.*"

But the nineteenth century was destined to witness a second and a holier Revolution: the same blessed monarch saw in that mystic vision how this tree, now stripped of its leaves and shorn of its antique glory, should one day return to its original stock; but, said St. Edward, "it will be without the help of any man's hand." Truly it has been without the aid of

human hand, for those who ought to have welcomed it, who ought to have aided and encouraged it, have scorned it, have spoken evil of it; yes, they have done their feeble all to hinder it. The Catholics, who ought to have rejoiced at it, have maligned it and turned it into ridicule, but the movement has grown notwithstanding. Catholic doctrine is now preached in the pulpits of the English Church from one end of the kingdom to the other. Those pulpits that heretofore resounded with blasphemous denunciations of the Real Presence and scoffings at transubstantiation, now pour forth orthodox and devotional vindications of the verity of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament of the altar, and of the priceless value of that clean oblation, which the prophet Malachi had foretold should everywhere be offered among the converted Gentiles from the rising to the setting of the sun. The people are once more summoned to the Tribunal of Penance, and Catholic morality is again inculcated from pulpits that used to utter only the errors of Calvin or Luther: the venerable Ritual of Catholicism is being gradually restored in all its ancient grandeur, the sweet perfume of holy incense is again inhaled in our ancient temples, the names of Mary and of the Saints are again honoured and invoked, and men are once more called to the practice of sanctity and the imitation of the

Saints. Nor are these the only signs of reviving Catholic Principle in the English Church; the religious and monastic states are again held in honour; and sisters of charity and mercy, as well as other sisterhoods, are established in many places with the full approval of the ecclesiastical authorities, and to the great edification of the neighbourhoods wherein they dwell. Some Catholics talk of these attempts to restore the monastic life in the Anglican Church, as if it were a mere sham. But why should not the monastic life be restored amongst Anglicans, while it has always been preserved among the Greeks, the Nestorians, and Monophysites of the East? No Catholic talks of the Russian monks, or the monks of Mount Athos, as sham monks. It is admitted even that there are monks among the Buddhists: why, then, in the name of Common Sense, may not our Anglican brethren revive the monastic state in their communion, without raising a bigotted and ill-conditioned sneer from some Catholics, who ought to be the first to rejoice at this act of homage to the soundness of those principles which Catholicity has ever upheld, but which hitherto Anglicanism had stoutly contradicted? For ourselves we are at a loss to understand what possible interest of Catholicity, those Catholics, who take this line of criticizing the efforts of Anglicans to restore

Catholic usages amongst themselves, can imagine that they are serving. What would they have? would they wish the Anglicans to retain all the antiquated prejudices of Protestantism? or do they fancy that Englishmen can become Catholic, without first abandoning these prejudices? Is there to be no transition between Protestantism and Catholicism? It is a remarkable fact, too, that this illogical line of conduct is pursued for the most part by some of the very men who have profited by this very movement to become Catholics themselves: and yet now that they have reached the threshold, they pursue the incredible, not to call it revolting policy, of striving to throw down the very ladder to which they owe their own good fortune! Truly, it is not their hand that will help any of their former associates in their struggles after Divine Truth, but we will also add, it will not be their puny hand that will hinder the great work. They tend simply to render Catholicism itself ridiculous and odious to those who are honestly seeking for *it*: and yet when the glorious Religious revolution of the nineteenth century shall have fairly worked itself out, they will be the loudest to assert that they always approved what they never failed to condemn. Of one thing they may rest assured, that the more violent they are in ridiculing the

Catholic movement in the Anglican Church, the more determined will be the resistance of those of their Catholic brethren, who sympathize and rightly sympathize with it, for it is the one single chance (if we may use such a phrase), the one only hope of re-catholicizing England, as it is the one single symptom of any return on the part of our separated brethren to Catholic principles and Catholic belief.

What then we have to do, is not as our objectors suggested, to cut a canal for the Thames, that he might empty his stream into the Wash instead of the Nore; we are content with the Thames, as we find him; all we want to do is to purify his waters from the filthy accumulations of three centuries, and to make him once more a clear and healthy stream, as he was when his sturgeons were a dainty dish at the Royal Table, or when a Lord Mayor's Feast could command a salmon at London Bridge. This is what we want, this is what we think can be done, is being done, and will be completely done. And so let us take leave of our objector's metaphor, which after all has served the purpose of our argument, more than of his own.

That it is a difficult, and a very difficult task, to revolutionize the Anglican Church in favour of Catholicism we are fully prepared to admit, but we do contend that it is not impossible, and

that it is less difficult than to do as much for England as a whole. And we contend moreover that in order to do this for England, it is necessary to begin with the Anglican Church: and why so? Simply because the Anglican Church represents the governing mind of England, and because it is precisely with the Anglican Church that we perceive the Hand of GOD actually working: for we presume that not even our Catholic objector will urge that it is the devil who is inspiring Anglicans with their love of Catholic usages and their veneration for the Monastic State. Well, then, what we want to do is to eliminate heresy, schism, and scepticism from the Church of England. That done, she becomes Catholic *in toto*, as much as our objector became, when he got free from his errors some twenty years ago. As he says, and says truly, the Rod of Aaron must swallow up the serpents of the Magicians: and why not, if GOD be as all-powerful as He was in the time of Moses? Of course the High Church must swallow up the Evangelical and the Broad Church, and the spirit of Christian belief must eliminate the scepticism that lies beyond both. Now what is modern scepticism? may we not compare it to the husks of swine, on which the Prodigal was reduced to feed after his riotous wanderings and his reckless squanderings of his patrimonial substance? But do we not re-

member that when he had tasted their unsavoury flavour, he then began to think of the plentiful and nutritious food he had left behind in his father's house, and the tears flowed when he remembered the happy days of old, and he said, "I will return to my father's house." So will it be, so it actually is, with the metaphorical Prodigal. Protestantism went forth in quest of new truths or under the vain pretext of recovering old ones by a process of private search in defiance of established authority, and what has been the result? innumerable discordances of opinion, till at last universal doubt and downright atheism stare us in the face. These are indeed the husks of swine! But no sane man can long rest in the arms of unbelief. Man needs religion. He cannot get on without it. It is a necessity of the individual man, no less than of the commonwealth. No man's property, no man's life, is safe without a religious restraint or a religious sanction: and the community cannot hold together without a religious bond. Our objector talks of Erastianism, and he tells me that Erastianism must cease, ere England and England's Church return to the profession of Catholicism. Shall I shock him if I reply, no such thing? What does he mean by Erastianism? I do not ask the etymology of the word, but of his idea? Now, I vehemently suspect that what he would

stigmatize beneath the shadow of an odious name will turn out to be a very useful, a very necessary, ingredient in our scheme, that is in the scheme of Divine Providence, which we are striving to serve. What was the conversion of Constantine? what the conversion of Clovis, or of Ethelbert? whose work was that? GOD'S or the Devil's? and yet your Anti-Erastian will not scruple to tell you that Erastianism sprung from that fact, from the glorious fact that Christianity mounted on the Throne, that the Cross was enshrined on the diadem of kings. We say, and we say it boldly, and careless of contradiction, in the Christian system, and the Christian Constitution of the Political State, the Crown must have, and ought to have, a large influence in Ecclesiastical affairs. The Church and the State ought to be closely united in any normal constitution of the human Family; what we have to deprecate and to guard against is not this Union, but the abuse of it; it is the tyranny of either over the other, or the abuse of State influence in crushing the freedom of the Pastoral office on the one hand, or of cruelty and brute force in the vain attempt to crush what nothing but argument and holy example can subdue, the errors of man when opposed to the authority and unity of the Church.

There is still, however, one objection, which we stated to the Re-union of the Anglican

with the Catholic Church, and which from a Catholic point of view requires an answer. The Anglican Church was compared to a Panther, and the Catholic Church to a Hind, and it was rightly argued that a Panther could never become a Hind. Such a change would be a destruction and reproduction, not a process. Doubtless. But is the comparison a fair one or an accurate one? In our view of the case, at least, it is not borne out by history; as we read history the Anglican Church, both before and since the Religious Revolution of the 16th century, is one continuous body, in its outward organic structure remaining what it was before, though changing its creed in various points. Nor as we view it, does the question of the validity of Anglican orders materially alter this question, for assuming that the Anglican body in its corporate capacity were to become orthodox in belief, it would be easy to remedy what might be shown to be defective in their orders, and, assuming that a union were agreed on, it is obvious that the Anglican party in that case could not object to such rectification, but would rather desire it and require it. On the other hand it might be shown to be needless, in which case the Catholic party would not insist upon it. But we will take a still wider view of Christendom: all baptized Christians are claimed by the Church as her members; it is therefore more

suited to polemics than to charity, to speak of any body of separated Christians, as if there were no tie connecting them with the great Mother Church. When we compare, as Dryden did, the Catholic Church to a milk white Hind, and the Anglican Church to a Panther, in one sense of the term, we may be adopting a legitimate style of poetic imagery, but I cannot admit that we are forging a legitimate theological weapon. But, without entering further into the propriety of our objector's metaphors, we will frankly avow, that Re-union, as viewed from our side of the boundary, differs from what it is as viewed by our separated brethren. Viewed from our side, it means conversion, whether of individuals or bodies of individuals; viewed from their side, it is rather the cessation of an estrangement, than the renunciation of a sinful separation; viewed from either side, it is surely a consummation, that needs not only the efforts of zealous men, but the grace and special assistance of GOD to complete. Why then should we waste our time in dwelling on differences, which can only cease when men cease to dwell on the opposite sides of a dividing chasm—a chasm, which it should be the earnest endeavour of all good men to bridge over, or rather to fill up, and efface from their remembrance?

We cannot conclude in better words than those which were published near 200 years ago by the

learned and devout John Gother, himself a convert, and a Priest of the Catholic Church.

In an admirable work, entitled "*The Sinner's Complaint to God*," he thus expresses himself in a prayer "*For the whole state of Christendom.*"

"O GOD, by Whose mercy so many Nations of the Gentiles have been converted to the Faith of Christ, perfect, now, I beseech Thee, this mercy to them, that by their own corruption or blindness they may not be deprived of that happiness, which Thy fatherly goodness has designed for them.

"Give them all a sincere zeal for Truth, even for that Truth which was delivered to them by the Apostles. Root out all heresies from amongst them, whatever and wherever they be. Take from them all that blindness, delusion, and perverseness, by which *errors and corruptions* are maintained with zeal, which belongs only to Thy Truths. Heal all their schisms, by which a scandal is brought upon the Christian Name, and it is become a reproach to unbelievers.

"O Blessed JESUS, Who hast shed Thy Blood for the salvation of man, look upon the unhappy state of *divided Christendom*, and have compassion on it. See how Thy glorious Institution is disfigured: confusions and schisms are broken in where Thou commandest Unity and Peace to be kept; animosities, malice, and

revenge have taken the place of that mutual Love which Thou didst so strictly enjoin its professors; so that now, instead of loving (the mark of Thy Disciples), they seek to destroy one another; and Thy Name is blasphemed, through their disorders and wickedness, who confess it.

"This is the deformity of those that call themselves Thy people; have compassion, O JESUS, and, in Thy great mercy, send relief. Raise up the spirit of the Primitive and Apostolic times, and let the Enemy no more prevail, to the ruin of so many souls, and the infamy of Thy most holy profession. Chase away the spirit of worldly interest and pride from their hearts, who undertake to teach the spirit of JESUS CHRIST and His Gospel, and establish them *in such a sincere desire of a general Peace, that they may make it the subject of their daily prayers and endeavours to recover the Unity of the first Believers*, and to see them all, with one faith and one mouth, giving glory to GOD.

"Preserve, likewise, I beseech Thee, all Christian Princes in a good correspondence of Peace, and so settle all public affairs as Thou knowest may most effectually contribute to the public good of Christendom and the glory of Thy Holy Name. Wherefore I most earnestly implore Thy grace in behalf

of all Christian Princes: take them into Thy Protection, and give them such a spirit of true piety and solid wisdom, that they may be able to satisfy their great charge for the good of their people: and not only be solicitous for worldly greatness, but much more how they may concur in removing scandals, in encouraging virtue, and *establishing Unity* amongst all that believe in CHRIST."

"Grant, likewise, O merciful GOD, *to all Pastors, in whatever communion they be,* such a spirit, that they may daily lament *the Divisions of Christendom,* and express *a common zeal for healing them.* Let this spirit be such as was given to the Apostles, not of fierceness and passion, but of meekness; *may the same Heavenly Light attend them, to discover to them the things that are for Peace;* and in this holy disposition, *may they all unite their labours,* and *have Thy blessing for bringing all to a good effect.* O GOD, how glorious would Sion be were all united in One Faith!"

Surely every Christian who loves JESUS CHRIST, and every statesman who loves the welfare of mankind, will respond: "AMEN."

GARENDON PARK, LOUGHBOROUGH.

On the Feast of the B. S. Edward the Confessor, King of England.

October 13, 1866.

XI.

RITUALISM IN ITS RELATION TO RE-UNION.

By THE REV. T. W. MOSSMAN, M.A.,
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THE important subject of Ritual has been treated of with reference to almost every possible question, and viewed in almost every possible light; but it has not as yet, so far as I know, been much discussed in its bearing upon what is, perhaps, the most important question of all—the one which is, to say the least, *the* question of the present day, the Re-union of Christendom.

Ritual, in connection with this vital point, is what I propose to discuss in the following pages. I am very far from presuming to imagine that I can treat the subject in any exhaustive manner. All I shall venture upon will be to endeavour to show *how* important this aspect of Ritual is, and how impossible it is to ignore it in any earnest, well-devised plans for the visible Re-union of the Christian family.

I must commence by stating that I intend, in what follows, to use the word "Ritual" in the widest possible sense which the term will fairly bear. I mean to employ it so as to include almost everything in Christianity and the Catholic Church which does not come under the head of doctrine, or, as, everyone, since the publication of Dr. Newman's *Apologia*, seems to prefer to call it, "dogma." Looking, then, upon dogma as, in a sense, the soul of the Catholic Church, I would call Ritual her bones and sinews and flesh. And no more than man can exist as a visible being in this world without his body, can the visible Catholic Church, Militant here in earth, exist without her Ritual.

The next step is to distinguish between that Ritual which is absolutely essential *in*, I do not say *to*, the Catholic Church, and that which is essential to the *unity* of the Catholic Church. Every one knows that the absolutely essential points of Ritual are, comparatively speaking, extremely few. They may be almost all included in the matter of all the sacraments, with, in two or three, the addition of an unvarying and invariable form. And even as to the matter of some of the sacraments, there have been differences of opinion amongst theologians as to what it was, though all are agreed that the *materia propria* of each sacrament must exist, or else, *sacramentum non conficitur*.

I have been obliged to clear my ground by these preliminary remarks, because one is met at almost every turn by one's Anglican friends crying out lustily, as if it were some most recondite truth, that such and such things are not essential to the existence of the Catholic Church; and, therefore, not to any particular branch thereof. Prove a thing ever so clearly, from Holy Scripture, fathers, tradition, antiquity, universal consent, edification, charity to souls, as soon as there is not one word more to be said, the Anglican's final end of all controversy is, "It is not of the *De Esse* of the Church, it is only of the *De bene Esse;*" and one finds all one's labour gone for nothing. So far as I can see, the only effectual reply is, to say, "Granted that such and such things are not essential to the existence of the Church, or to the validity of her sacraments, they are absolutely essential to an undivided Church, and to a united or a re-united Christendom."

I must illustrate my meaning by giving instances. I will begin with that which, perhaps, without invalidating, if omitted, the sacrament of the altar, comes as near to that which may be compared to an infinitude of distance as a finite mind can grasp,—I mean the mingling water with the wine in the chalice.

Let me sum up very briefly the arguments in its favour:—

1. It is conceded by all, even by opponents, that it was a Mixed Chalice which was used by our blessed Lord at the institution of the Eucharist, because the Jews are known to have used the mixed cup at the Passover.

2. The most ancient Greek Liturgies, bearing the names of Apostles and Evangelists, say, in what we call the Consecration Prayer, that the LORD took in His all-holy Hands the cup of water and wine; and there is not a shadow of reasonable doubt that these words are the unaltered testimony of those who saw what the LORD did at His Last Supper.

3. Justin Martyr, who sat at the feet of apostolic men, when giving in as few words as possible apparently the essentials of the sacrament of the LORD'S Supper, mentions the Mixed Chalice.

4. It was the universal practice of the whole Church of GOD, and of every part thereof for fifteen hundred years. It is likewise the practice of Churches, as in India, which have been separated from the rest of the Catholic Church for fourteen or fifteen hundred years.

And the single exception which proves the rule, the case of the Armenian Church, is, perhaps, the strongest argument of all; for this, the only Church which is said to have formally rejected the Mixed Chalice is, alas, strongly suspected to be tainted with formal heresy respecting that

especial doctrine of which this most venerable and apostolic piece of Ritual is emblematical.

Other arguments might be multiplied, but surely what has been said is enough. In fact, had the much-abused Roman Church decreed that the omission of the water would invalidate the sacrament, I do not see very well what entirely satisfactory reply Anglicans could have made. They would have been hampered by their own certain knowledge, not derived through Roman sources, that the practice was primitive and apostolic; and so would have been self-convicted of breaking a Catholic tradition. But because the Roman Church has most mercifully said that the omission does not invalidate, but that the priest who omits, sins mortally—*graviter peccat*—they take heart, and flatter themselves that, after all, the omission is a light thing and not of any particular importance. I must repeat again and again, *usque ad nauseam*, until I can get people to listen to me out of sheer weariness at my importunity, that these things are of vital importance to the unity of Christendom. Can any one be so deluded as to imagine that Greece or Rome will have anything whatsoever to do with us, or to say to us, so long as we continue, as a Church, to differ from the whole of the rest of the Catholic and Christian world?

There has been an interesting correspondence

in the *Church Times* recently between J. B. S. and W. G. The latter does not seem to care to prolong the controversy, so the Anglican side has been taken up by one who signs himself G. N.

This letter is so undiluted a specimen of pure Anglicanism that I cannot resist giving it *in extenso*:—

"THE LAW OF THE CHURCH.

"Sir,—I am surprised that our friend, 'J. B. S.' does not see that the principles which he lays down with regard to the Law of the Church Catholic are identical with those of Protestant Dissenters with regard to the interpretation of Holy Scripture. The Church of England assumes, and indeed authoritatively declares, that there is nothing in her doctrines or formularies opposed to GOD'S Word written or the law or usage of the Church Catholic; the Protestant Dissenter claims the right of appealing from this to his own interpretation of Scripture. 'J. B. S.' claims the right of appeal to his own interpretation of the Law of the Church Catholic. This is the only true way of putting it; for the Church Catholic at present (owing to her unhappy divisions) has no authoritative Court of Appeal to decide what is the common Law of the Church upon any disputed point. The actual ascertainable Law of the Church Catholic consists, like all other laws, of

two parts, the *Lex scripta* or Statute Law, and the *Lex non scripta*, or, as we call it in England, the Common Law; the Statute Law of the Church Catholic consists (apart from Holy Scripture) only of the decrees of *bonâ fide* Œcumenical Councils held before the separation of East and West; the Common Law only of that which can be proved to be *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* held or practised in the Church. The practice of the Western Church is no more binding as Catholic than the practice of the Church of England alone, and 'J. B. S.' must know very well that the practices and usages which can be proved to have been universally received in the Church from the days of the Apostles (the *quod semper*) are few in number, and not only this, but that it would be very difficult to find two men, however learned, who, if called on to make out a list of such would exactly agree. As long, therefore, as the Church Catholic continues to be incapacitated, by her divided condition, from giving authoritative decisions, the claim of a right of appeal from Provincial Churches to the Church Catholic in matters not contained in the *Lex scripta*, is merely a claim of appeal to the private judgment of the individual; what he calls the voice of the Church Catholic being in fact neither more nor less than the echo of his own. There may be many voices joining in the

same cry, and in that case the echo is of course all the louder, but it is only an echo still.—Yours truly, G. N."

Let us examine, not so much the letter itself, as the opinions of the school from one of whose members it doubtless emanates.

The authority for all Ritual must, I suppose, so far as it is binding upon Catholics, rest upon a *consensus* of the Catholic Church. This is allowed upon all hands, even by Anglicans. Would it not then be really the best course for all who hold this principle to endeavour in the next place to try and ascertain, not what points of Ritual are not Catholic, but those which are? And when we have ascertained any point which we are convinced is neither especially Eastern nor especially Western, but the heritage of both alike, ought we not at once heartily and honestly to put it into practice? Is it not very much beside the mark to say, that "the practices and usages which can be proved to have been received universally in the Church from the days of the Apostles are few in number," whilst Anglicans do not put those few into practice? The fewer they are, surely, surely, the more reason there is for observing them; the less excuse there is for neglecting them.

But there is a sad weakness somewhere in Anglican principles, or rather in Anglican practice. Anglicans argue that the points of Ritual

which are really Catholic are few, and then proceed to act as if there were none at all.

Again, there is, after all, a considerable number of Ritualistic observances, which no really learned man has any doubt about as fulfilling the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus;* that is, as much, so as many things which Anglicans hold as dear as life, Infant Baptism for instance. We all maintain that the practice of Infant Baptism is a clear case of *quod semper*, &c., yet the most casual reader of early Church History cannot but be struck with the fact, how exceedingly common it was for orthodox Christians to defer the baptism of their children until they came to years of discretion or maturity.

The root of the matter is, what is the authority upon which we do, or leave undone certain things? Is it upon the authority of the Church Catholic, or because they are enjoined by the Anglican branch of it,—that is, really and virtually by a single province of the Western Patriarchate, namely Canterbury? If Anglicans could be but once led, honestly and seriously, to ask this question, and to follow Truth wherever it might lead them, and develope it into its fair and legitimate and logical consequences, the Re-union of Christendom would be a question almost of days. Do Anglicans ever ask themselves the question why they baptise

their infants? Is it, when going back to first principles, simply and solely because a Rubric of the English Prayer Book bids them do it; or is it because they are satisfied that it is a practice based upon Catholic consent and Catholic usage? I suppose the more thoughtful of the Anglican school would reply, that they baptised infants because the direct and immediate authority set over them in the LORD, the Rubric of the Book of Common Prayer, commanded it: but that that Rubric itself was based upon the authority of the Church Catholic, and sanctioned by the *quod semper*, &c. So far then we are agreed. Let us advance just a single step, and ask, what should be done by us in points where we *can* ascertain the practice of the Catholic Church, but about which the Church of England is simply silent?

I cannot see myself how there can possibly be a doubt in the mind of any reasonable man upon the subject—that is of any one who really desires and prays for the Unity of Christendom. Again and again let us assure ourselves, that neither the East nor the West, nor in fact any Ancient Church, however poor and humble as to this world's estate, will have anything to do with us, so long as we are uncatholic in our usages and practices.

The "Reformers," so called, of the English Church, did, in fact, embody a considerable

portion of Catholic usage and Ritual in the English Prayer Book. We may be very thankful for it; thankful that we have retained as much as we have, and lost no more than we have. But to return for a moment to the letter of G. N.: so far from any one who maintains Catholic Ritual being a Protestant, those who decline to adopt it are Protestants: and the more there are of the party the louder the protesting echo; but it is an echo still.

For instance, three hundred years ago the Reformers found the Mixed Chalice the universal practice of Catholic Christendom. They are supposed by some to have abolished this Ritualistic practice. I do not say that they did: but if they did, they were simply Protestants in so doing, and as such are deserving of our sincerest reprehension. But granting for a moment that they did commit her to an unmixed Chalice, they made the English Church *pro tanto* a Protestant Church. They made her take up a position which she entirely, over and over again, in substance, repudiates,—I mean a Donatist position. It follows from this, that every one who repudiates the Mixed Chalice takes up with, *pro tanto*, a Protestant or Donatist position. He echoes a Protestant cry. The true and altogether annihilating answer to any such Protestant cry is, in the inspired words of the

Blessed Paul, "We have no such custom, neither the Churches of GOD."

How then can it be that such men as Henry of Exeter, and Samuel of Oxford can profess to forbid the usage of the Mixed Chalice in their dioceses, because it is, as they say, unauthorized by the Church of England; that means, really, reducing statements to their essential elements, by the province of Canterbury?

Whenever I think or read of these things, I am simply filled with wonder and astonishment. I ask myself, "Can I have made some error or mistake in my reasoning?" and I go through the mental process again and again: and finding none, I sigh and am silent.

I have dwelt at considerable length upon the question of the Mixed Chalice, because the arguments in favour of its being a Catholic usage are so very clear, convincing and unanswerable. But there are after all many other important Catholic usages for which there is quite sufficient ground of proof to all reasonable minds, and about which learned men do agree: as for instance, Fasting Communicating. It is no more a Western usage than an Eastern, and no more an Eastern than a Western one; it is simply a Catholic practice, and for which there is about as much of the *quod semper*, &c., as there is for Infant Baptism. The Western

Church orders communicants to be fasting from the midnight previous, the Eastern Church from six o'clock or sunset of the day before; and because the greater must include the less, the absolute and invariable *general* rule of both East and West is, Fasting Communicating. Both East and West say that the practice was commanded by the Holy Apostles of the LORD JESUS; and if you ask both East and West how they know this, they will tell you that they have received it from those who went before them by an unbroken tradition ascending up to apostolic times. What can it matter then to a Catholic, to any one who has learned the A B C of Catholicity, who has grasped its merest rudiments, whether a Provincial Synod three hundred years ago enjoined it or not? If the English Church at the time of the Reformation enjoined it, well and good. If she did not, I cannot see that it matters one iota; supposing, that is, that we wish to be Catholics and not mere Anglicans. Only, above all things, do not let us trifle with our reason and conscience by saying that it is a Western usage, when it is as much Catholic as anything well can be. I hope Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley were not uncatholic in this matter; but if they were, and I follow them, I am simply becoming a Protestant under the shelter of lofty titles: I am, either on my own responsibility, or on

theirs, striking at a laudable custom of the whole Catholic Church of CHRIST.

But the more one thinks and reads and studies, and becomes more really acquainted with Catholic history and Primitive Antiquity, the more one sees, not how few, but how many usages and customs and practices, all of which come under the head of Ritual, as I have defined the word, are sanctioned by the Voice of the Universal Church and endorsed by what she does.

Take, for instance, the practice of using oil or Holy Chrism at baptism and confirmation; it is a Catholic and Primitive and Apostolic usage. No really learned man has any doubt about this. We find traces and indications of its use in the New Testament, and it has been practised by the Universal Church of CHRIST ever since. What can it, what ought it to matter, that a province, or, to say the very most, a few provinces in the far West have, for the last three hundred years, abandoned or disused the Holy Chrism? So much the worse for them and for their lay members. So much the worse that the faithful people of CHRIST have been deprived of that special outward mark or sign which made them the anointed of the LORD, and which gave a special significance to their name of Christians, and which showed forth the real priesthood of all the faithful; and that not only the Clergy, but the lay people also, the

very meanest and the humblest, are, in some real, true sense, kings and priests unto GOD, even here upon earth.

It seems wearying to go into so many details one after the other; but I suppose it must be "line upon line, line upon line; precept upon precept, precept upon precept; here a little and there a little, here a little and there a little;" until the whole Anglican Church becomes leavened with Catholic principles, and thus once more Catholic in her practice. As the so-called "Reformers" seemed never to weary of pulling down, so I suppose we ought never to weary in our good and blessed work of trying to build up.

We must show, over and over again until people will heed us, that the things which I have mentioned, and many besides, as Lights and Eucharistic Vestments, Incense, Anointing the sick with oil, and Reservation, are neither Roman nor Greek, but Catholic—as Catholic as Infant baptism or Episcopacy; and that we cannot, if we would prosper, differ in our practice from the practice of the Universal Church of GOD, east and west, north and south.

Above all let us be assured that the Roman and Greek Churches cannot, if they would, hold out the right hand of fellowship to us, so long as we are uncatholic in our practice.

The Greek Church honours the name of

John Chrysostom amongst her greatest saints. He said that if he had knowingly communicated any who were not fasting, might his name be struck off from the roll of orthodox bishops. How then could Eastern bishops and priests, if they would be loyal to their own apostolic traditions, and true to the memory of their glorious saints—how could they be in habitual and loving intercommunion with those who habitually break apostolic traditions?" We see then most clearly, as the conclusion of the whole matter, that by adopting and promoting really Catholic Ritual observances, we are, as far as in us lies, promoting in the most effectual way possible the accomplishment of Visible Unity and intercommunion amongst all parts of the Church; and that by neglecting or opposing Catholic Ritual we are doing our best, or our worst, to hinder the glorious consummation of the visible, corporate Re-union of the whole Christian family.

XII.

THE TRUE BASIS OF RE-UNION.*

By A PRIEST OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρηνης τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, εὐσταθείας τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ θεοῦ εκκλησιῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἑνώσεως, τοῦ Κυρίον δεηθῶμεν.

CLERGYMEN and laity of the Church of England who are anxious that their communion, which many rulers in the Holy Orthodox Church believe to be more or less infested with Protestant and Calvinistic errors, should be placed in visible union with the See of Constantinople, must be prepared to revert to the old principles of Truth and Right, which Orthodoxy has neither forgotten nor obscured, before any hope of success can be held out.

That some of influence, learning and sanctity, who move opinion in the Roman Church, are of one mind with Church-of-England men, may

* The Editor is indebted to an Oriental layman, and to an Eastern ecclesiastic, for assistance in preparing this for the press.

be perceived by referring to the Essays and Sermons on the principle of Corporate Re-union, sent forth recently and studied in several countries. Not only missionaries of the Jesuit order, but diplomatist priests, who represent the Pope of Rome, have been found advocating with apparent sincerity and much earnestness, the Re-union of the divided Churches. Many learned treatises have been written to exhibit the chances of success in such a scheme, and to discover a basis, a house built upon the Rock, on which a future stately palace of Peace and Unity might be erected, never to be thrown down.

Both those, therefore, who cry out for peace in the British Churches, and those who are sick of any authority but Orthodox authority in the Papal Churches, must hear the words of truthful warning from the unvarying lips of Orthodoxy.

That any, in ignorance or rashness, should doubt that our mother the Church is ever ready to proclaim the heavenly words of charitable peace, which the Divine Head of the Church bade her always preach, is not to be wondered at, when misrepresentation and half-knowledge almost universally wield so weighty a sceptre. What was given the Church to perform by the Holy Paraclete, after CHRIST'S ascension to His Father, the Orthodox have always taught and never obscured. Peace has ever been told

of with an unerring teaching from the days of Apostles and Fathers Apostolic. The unity of the Orthodox Creed, and the oneness of the Orthodox body has never been traduced nor denied. And, therefore, when those which have removed themselves far away from the ancient Church, in religious politics, in erroneous teaching, in unprimitive usurpation, and in the adulteration of the Divine Creed, show forth a desire to come back again to the one spring of Truth, to the well of Orthodoxy, and to the companionship of Saints, no barriers which can be removed without letting in the foe, should be allowed to stand in the way of a restoration of friendly intercourse, and in proper time of Visible Sacramental unity.

The questions of weighty value which arise in dispute, when the relations of Christian nation to Christian nation are considered, or when the bearing of a Christian nation towards the Turks is under discussion, are those which cannot possibly be considered with any profitable result, except by going to the very root of divergence and difference—the unalterable principle of Christianity; and, of course, this Divine principle can only be well applied when Christian nations act in concert, and the Christians of all lands are permanently and apparently one. Here, therefore, is a blessing for all, a broad and permeating blessing, which may the

Divine Author of good condescend to bestow on us most unworthy of receiving it!

Of the plan for Corporate Re-union which has been set forth with much zeal and many good intentions, and this, too, in charitable words, between the Roman or Papal Church and the Orthodox, the writer has delivered his judgment (which is in harmony with that of the Holy Fathers) in a response to the Jesuit Father Gagarin, and to Monsieur James Pitzipios, founder of the Roman Association for Promoting Corporate Re-union between East and West. He need not then set it forth again here. It will suffice to say that what has been denied, obscured, misrepresented, dropped, or repudiated, which the Orthodox hold as from God, must be affirmed, set up again, accepted with sincerity, preserved and believed in, before Re-union can be obtained.

For the Orthodox Church, or rather upon her side, there may be explanations to give. It is hers to illuminate those that sit in darkness. It is her mission to teach and to explain. Man does not learn without a teacher. God Almighty does not teach without an intervening medium. Therefore, Orthodoxy is ready and willing to explain, when the uninformed are prepared to be taught.

1. All deviations from the Orthodox creed of Constantinople must be henceforth rejected and

laid aside. That creed must be adopted and accepted, without addition or subtraction, as it was formally promulged.

2. The decisions, decrees, and declarations of the seven Œcumenical Councils must be the alone basis of Corporate Re-union.

But before any such basis of agreement could be accepted, that is before the British Churches could be received to treat for Re-union with Orthodoxy; 1, all doubts as to their sympathy with Calvinism, and Lutheranism, and Liberal Protestantism, must be frankly and voluntarily removed by acknowledged authority: 2. Secondly, the fact of the inefficiency of the form and substance of Episcopal and Presbyterial ordination at the Reformation-period of British Church History, must be amply and plainly brought out. Here it should be remarked that though the Orthodox Churches allow the sufficiency of Western forms, the largest portion of Western Christendom disputes the sufficiency of the Anglican form of 1549. On this point, and its kindred details, all doubt must be removed; and those more immediately interested must remove the doubt.

While, in the meantime, therefore, the hopeful, the anxious, the learned, and the high-in-position must carefully prepare the minds of devout Englishmen—which we here solemnly in GOD'S Name charge them to do—for acknow-

ledging the blessings which an Union with the Orthodox Church would confer, they must at the same time ever indicate the only basis which could possibly be accepted. What was received by Christendom as Divine and unalterable, when all Christians, in the sight of men as well as of angels, were One, must be accepted on every side before any section of Christendom can propose with a chance of success, that all Christians should become One once more. The decisions of national Churches cannot bind the conscience, and every national Church may commit itself to theological error or inadequately-stated truth.* Their anchor is that which was anciently true, given by GOD, accepted by the Orthodox everywhere, and which can never be less than it was during the session of the seventh most Holy Council.

This, as regards a basis for dogmatical agreement, is the first step towards inter-communion.

As to the active policy by which such a basis could be mutually agreed upon, the golden precedent of the Florentine Meeting stands out as a beacon light in starless nights and rough weather, by which the storm-tossed may be guided aright. Here the Latins come to our aid. They agreed to meet the Orthodox on equal terms, both from their own points of view, needing to have and to give explanations. Each

* *Vide* Appendix II.

side in negotiation was compelled to go back to a period when common principles were held in common. And temporary concessions, such as that of the Pope Eugenius, permitting the omission of the "Filioque" in the services common to, and attended by both, were absolutely necessary to a successful carrying out of the policy which sincere and earnest men on both sides, like Doritheus of Mitelene or John the Dominican, so greatly desired.

When the precedent is followed, when men are prepared and plans are ripe, then Ferrara and Florence must be ever before us. All error must be cast off and repudiated, and the principle of strict obedience to the Œcumenic Councils scrupulously observed. Once more as Bishops, estranged and alien to each other, Eastern and Western prelates must gather side by side, equals with equals, commingling for the general good, waiving everything which ecclesiastical necessity or commendable custom has created, and only jealous for Divine right and revealed Truth. Then may a blessing be looked for. Then shall Unity become a reality and a fact, never to be obscured, never by man to be lost.

APPENDIX I.

The following are some of the Papers of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, by the circulation of which, throughout Christendom, between nine and ten thousand clergymen and laymen of the Latin, Greek, and Anglican Churches have been led to enrol themselves members:—

No. 1.

ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM.

(Established September 8, 1857, Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

An Association has been formed under the above title, to unite in a bond of intercessory prayer members both of the clergy and laity of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Anglican Communions. It is hoped and believed that many, however widely separated at present in their religious convictions, who deplore the grievous scandal to unbelievers, and the hindrance to the promotion of truth and holiness among Christians, caused by the unhappy divisions existing amongst those who profess to have "One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism," will recognise the consequent duty of joining their intercession to the Re-

deemer's dying prayer, "that they all may be One, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be One in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me." To all, then, who, while they lament the divisions among Christians, look forward for their healing mainly to a Corporate Re-Union of those three great bodies which claim for themselves the inheritance of the priesthood and the name of Catholic, an appeal is made. They are not asked to compromise any principles which they rightly or wrongly hold dear. They are simply asked to unite for the promotion of a high and holy end, in reliance on the promise of our Divine LORD, that "whatsoever we shall ask in prayer, believing, we shall receive;" and that "if two or three agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My FATHER Who is in heaven." The daily use of a short form of prayer together with one "OUR FATHER"—for the intention of the Association—is the only obligation incurred by those who join it; to which is added, in the case of priests, the offering, at least once in three months, of the Holy Sacrifice, for the same intention.

FORM OF PRAYER.

O LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who saidst unto Thine Apostles, Peace I leave with you, My Peace I give unto you; regard not my sins, but the faith of Thy Church; and grant Her that Peace and Unity which is agreeable to Thy Will, Who livest and reignest GOD for ever and ever. Amen. OUR FATHER, &c.

Note.—In joining the Association, no one is understood as thereby expressing an opinion on any matter which may be deemed a point of controversy, or on any religious question except that the object of the Association is desirable.

Those who are desirous of joining the Association are requested to *write out* the Declaration printed in italics below, append to it *their name and place of residence in*

full, and return it to the General Secretary of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, care of Mr. J. T. HAYES, Lyall Placè, Eaton Square, London, S.W.

DECLARATION.

"*I willingly join the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, and undertake* [*to offer the Holy Sacrifice once in three months and**] *to recite daily the above prayer for the intention of the same.*"

·[*Signed*] .....

N. B.—The names of members will be kept strictly private.

The Secretary will be obliged to any clergyman or layman who will undertake the duty of Local Secretary to the Association in those dioceses of Great Britain which, as yet, do not possess a Local or Diocesan Secretary.

Local Secretaries in foriegn countries are likewise specially needed.

Address—The Rev. F. G. LEE, D.C.L., General Secretary, A. P. U. C., care of Mr. Hayes, 5, Lyall Place, Eaton Square, S.W.

*Lay persons will omit the words in brackets.

No. 2.

DE SOCIETATE PRO UNITATE CHRISTIANORUM PROMOVENDA.

(Anno Salutis 1857, die octavo Septembris fundata. Fest. Nativ. B.M.V.)

SUB hoc titulo Societas formata est, cujus finis est et scopus in vinculo orationis communis unire tàm Clerum quàm Populum fidelem Ecclesiarum Occidentalium et

Orientalium sed et Anglicanorum. Jam sperare et credere licitum est, tot Ecclesiæ Sanctæ filios, quantumvis inter sese hodiè tam miserè divisos, hoc scandalum plorare, his qui non credunt gaudii causam, Christianis ipsis et veritatis et sanctitatis obstaculum, Evangelicæ Prædicationis miram contradictionem, quæ tanquam norman et principium, "Unus Dominus, una Fides, unum Baptisma," Pauli Apostili verbis confietur. Sed et cognoscere oportet haud majorem vel sanctiorem obligationem existere posse, quam orare secundùm divinam illam Salvatoris nostri Jesus Domini, pro nobis hominibus mortem acerbissimam subeuntis, ultimam ad Patrem Suum cœlestem orationem, quam verbis tam divinis concludit: loquens enim instante horâ Passionis Suæ, ità pro Apostolis Suis oravit et pro omnibus usque ad consummationem sæculi eorum discipulis: "Non pro eis autèm rogo tantùm, sed et pro eis, qui crediturî sunt per verbum eorum in Me, ut OMNES UNUM SINT, sicut Tu Pater in Me et Ego in Te, ut et ipsi in Nobis unum sint; et credat mundus, quia Tu Me misisti." Omnibus, igitur, hanc miseram Christianorum divisionem ex intimo corde plorantibus, ut unitas tam sancta tam desiderata tam mundo necessaria tandèm adveniat, saltem rogamus ut illi, qui sub Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Regula sese Apostolorum Christi hæreditatem habere gloriantur, multò magis si sacerdotii munere coronati, in idipsum convenîre consentiant, ut Tunica Christi inconsutilis non scindatur amplius. Hic non de principiis singulis quibusque affectu vel consuetudine conjunctis controversiam agimus: solummodò pro Unione ità Domini nostri verbis probatâ ut fiat aliquando secundùm mentem ejus, et Spiritûs Sancti dispositionem, Deum implorare iterùm atque iterùm hortamur et rogamus: memores verbi ejus et dulcissimæ promissionis: "Iterùm dico vobis, quià si duo ex vobîs consenserint super terram, de omni re quamcumque petierint fiet illis à Patre Meo, Qui in cœlis est: ubi enim sunt duo vel tres, congregati in Nomine Meo, ibi Sum in medio eorum." Omnibus, igitur, in hujus Societatis vinculis inter sese conjunctis, hæc sola

obligatio erit, semel singulis diebus pro Unione Christianorum futurâ Orationem Dominicam recitare unà cum hac brevi ex Divina Liturgia collecta.

"*Domine Jesu Christe, Qui dixisti Apostolis Tuis: Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem Meam do vobis: ne respicias peccata mea, sed Fidem Ecclesiæ Tuæ: eamque secundum voluntatem Tuam pacificare et coadunare digneris, Qui vivis et règnas, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.*"

Et si sacerdotes sint, imploramus ex eis ut semel tantum in quibusque tribus mensibus sacrosanctum Missæ sacrificium pro hac sanctissimâ intentione offere dignentur.

N. B.—Omnibus Huic Societati sese aggregare statuentibus, nomina eorum ejusdem Secretario cum notitia habitationis suæ scribere decet, hanc fermè formulam signando.

"*Ego* N. M. *lubens me aggrego Societati pro Unione Christianorum promovendâ instituta, pro cujus intentione orationes subjectas recitare intendo, et (si sacerdos fuerit) Divinam Liturgiam semel in quibusque tribus mensibus devotè celebrare statuo.*"

Secretarii autem indicatio est quæ sequitur: Rev. Frederick George Lee, 5, Lyall-place, Eaton-square, London, S. W.

No. 3.

ASSOCIATION POUR L'UNITÉ DE LA CHRÉTIENTÉ.

Cette Association a été fondée dans le but d'unir, dans une prière commune, les membres du clergé et les laïques des Communions Catholique-Romaine, Grecque et Anglicane. Nous croyons et espérons qu'il en est qui, aujourd'hui, sont séparés dans leurs convictions religieuses, et qui déplorent néanmoins les malheureuses divisions qui

existent entre des hommes qui croient au même Seigneur, qui ont une même foi, un même baptême. Ces divisions sont un scandale affligeant pour les infidèles, et forment un grand obstacle à la propagation de la vérité. Ceux qui en gémissent doivent reconnaître qu'il sont obligés de joindre leurs prières à celle du Rédempteur mourant: "Qu'ils soient tous un! Comme Toi, Père, es en Moi, et Moi en Toi, qu'ils soient tellement Un en Nous, que le monde croie que Tu M'as envoyé." Nous faisons appel à tous ceux qui déplorent les divisions qui existent entre les Chrétiens, et qui comprennent que la guérison de ce mal consiste principalement dans la réunion en un seul Corps des trois grands Corps qui ont conservé l'héritage du sacerdoce et le nom de Catholique. On ne demande pas à entrer en discussion sur quelques opinions professées à tort ou à raison, mais seulement l'union pour obtenir la réalisation complète de la promesse du Divin Seigneur, qui a dit: "tout ce que vous demanderez avec foi, vous l'obtiendrez; et si deux ou troise se réunissent sur la terre pour demander quelque chose en Mon Non, Mon Père, Qui est dans les cieux, les exaucera." La récitation quotidienne d'une courte prière, avec un Pater, à l'intention de l'Association, est la seule obligation imposée à ceux qui y entreront. A cette obligation, on ajoute, pour l'Ordre des prêtres, celle d'offrir au moins une fois en trois mois, le Saint Sacrifice, à la même intention.

Formule de Prière.

O Seigneur Jesus-Christ, qui avez dit à vos Apôtres, "Je vous laisse ma paix, je vous donne ma paix:" ne regardez pas mes péchés, mais la doctrine de votre Eglise; donnez-lui toute la paix et toute l'unité que vous voulez pour elle, vous qui vivez et régnez pour toujours et à jamais. Amen.

Notre Père, &c.

Avis—En se joignant à l'Association, on n'est pas considéré comme ayant adopté telles ou telles opinions

controversées, ou comme ayant pris parti pour un autre objet que celui qui fait le but de l'Association.

Ceux qui désirent entrer dans l'Association sont priés d'écrire leur nom et leur adresse au bas du prospectus et de la renvoyer au Secrétaire de l'Association pour l'Unité de la Chrétienté, 5, Lyall Place, Eaton-square. Loudon, S. W.

Telle est la formule d'engagement: *Je me joins volontiers à l'Association pour l'Unité de la Chrétienté, et m'oblige (à offrir le Saint Sacrifice une fois en trois mois et*) *à réciter, chaque jour, la prière ci-dessus à la même intention.*

*Signature*_____

_____

N. B.—Les noms des membres seront conservés soigneus e ment.

No. 4.

ASSOCIAZIONE PER L'UNIONE DEL CRISTIANESIMO.

Lo scopo per cui fu formata quest' Associazione si è quello di unire i Cattolici Romani, i Greci, e gli Anglicani, clero e popolo in una commune preghiera. Noi vogliamo credere e sperare che molti sono coloro i quali quantunque attualmente divisi nelle loro convinzioni religiose, deplorano pure le infauste divisioni che esistono fra quei che professano di avere "Un solo Signore, una solo Fede, un sol Battesimo." Siffatto stato di cose e cagione di scandolo agl' infedeli, ed è grande ostacolo alla propagazione della

Les laïques omettront les mots contenus entre les parenthèses.

verità. Quindi grave e pressante è l'obbligo che incombe a tutti noi di unire la nostra preghiera a quelle del Divino Redentore, il quale presso a morire per noi così supplicò il suo Eterno Padre,—"Ne io prego solamente per questi, ma anche per coloro, i quali per la loro parola crederanno in me; che sieno tutti una sola cosa, come tu sei in Me, O Padre, ed io in te, che sieno anch' essi una sola cosa in noi: onde crederà il mondo che Tu mi hai mandato." Noi pertanto faciamo appello a tutti coloro che compiangono le divisioni che esistoni tra Cristiani di prendere interesse in una unione sì santa, sì bramata, ed al mondo sì necessaria, molto più se sieno ornati del carattere sacerdotale. Non s' intende qui d' ingerersi nei principii religiosi che si professano, ma soltanto di supplicare il Signore perchè venga questi unione, quando a Lui piacerà, effettuata, il quale ha promesso "Vi dico ancora, che se due di voi si accorderanno sopra la terra a domandare qualsisia cosa, sarà loro concessa dal Padre mio ch' è nei Cieli." Il solo obbligo degli ascritti si è quello di recitare ogni giorno la seguente breve orazione con un Paternoster; i Sacerdoti inoltre di offerire il S. Sacrifizio della Messa una volta ogni tre mesi, secondo la stessa intenzione.

Orazione.

Signore Gesù Cristo, che dicesti ai Tuoi Apostoli, vi lascio la Mia pace, la pace Mia vi dono, non guardi ai miei peccati, ma alla fede della Tua Chiesa, e questa degnati secondo il tuo volere di pacificare, e de rendere perfettamente unita, e tu, Dio, che vivi e regni per tutti i secoli de' secoli. Amen. PATERNOSTER.

N. B.—Gli ascritti non s' intendono d' avere adottato alcuna opinione de materia di contraversia, nè d' aver preso alcuna parte per altro ogetto fuorchè quello che forma lo scopo dell' Associazione.

Sono pregati infine i medesime di scrivere il loro nome, ed indirizzo al Segretario dell' Associazione, 5, Lyall Place, Eaton Square, London, nella seguente formola.

Io mi unisco volentieri all' Associazione, pell' Unione

del Cristianesimo, e prometto di recitare l' anzidetta orazione ogni giorno, e (*se sarà Sacerdote*) di offrire il Santo Sacrifizio della Messa una volta ogni tre mesi seconda lo stessa intenzione.

*Firma.*_____

*** Dopo la formazione de questa Associazione in Londra, del anno 1857, incirca 9300 persone sono divenute membri, de quali una terza parte consiste di Prete Cattolici Romaini, Greci, ed Anglicani. L' Associazione è stata approvata da eminenti ecclesiastici ovunque, in Oriente quanto in Occidente; ed ha ricevuta la sanzione e la benedizione di vescovi che appartengono a quelle grandi divisioni del Crestianesimo che hanno l'eredità del sacerdozio, ed il nome di "Cattolico."

I nome de' membri sono tenuti segreti.

No. 5.

Ἑταιρεία ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Χριστιανίσμου ἑνώσεως.

Ἑταιρεία οὕτως ὀνομαζομένη συνέσταται ὑπὲρ τοῦ ζευγνύναι δεσμῷ εὐχῆς ἱκετηρίας μέλη τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ κοσμικοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν Ῥωμαίας, Ἀνατολικῆς, καὶ Ἀγγλικανῆς· Ἐλπιστέον καὶ πιστευτέον ἔστι πολλοὺς (καίπερ ἐπὶ ὁμολογίαις εὑρὺ διεχομένους) ὅσοι ἂν ὀδύρονται τὸ σκάνδαλον τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῖς ἀπίστοις, καὶ τὸ ἐμπόδισμα τῆς διορθώσεως ἀληθείας καὶ ἁγιότητος παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς πεποιημένα ὑπὸ τῶν σχισμάτων ἀλγεινῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαγγελλομένοις ἔχειν "ἕνα Κύριον, μίαν πίστιν, ἓν βάπτισμα," γνώσεσθαι ὅτι ἀκολούθως προσήκει ἐπιτιθέναι τὰς ἱκεσίας αὐτῶν τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος εὐχῇ θνήσκοντος, "'Ἵνα πάντες ἓν ὦσι, καθὼς σὺ Πάτερ ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν σοί, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἓν ὦσιν, ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστεύσῃ ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας."

Πρὸς ἅπαντας γοῦν ὀδυρομένους τὰ παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς σχίσ-

ματα, ἀλλὰ προβλέποντας ὑγίασιν μάλιστα ἐξ ἀνακοινωνίας τῶν τριῶν μεγάλων Συνουσιῶν ἑαυταῖς προσποιουμένων τὴν τῆς ἱερατείας καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος Καθολικοῦ κληρονομίαν παράκλησις νῦν γίνεται.

Οὐδαμῶς αἰτοῦνται συγχωρεῖν δόγματα ἃ ἂν ὀρθῶς ἢ πλημμελῶς τιμῶσι· αἰτοῦνται μόνον συζευγνύναι πρὸς σκοπὸν ὑψηλόν τε καὶ ἅγιον, πιστεύοντες τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου θείου ὑποσχέσει ὅτι "πάντα ὅσα ἂν αἰτήσητε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ πιστεύοντες, λήψεσθε," καὶ "ἐὰν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συμφωνήσωσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περὶ παντὸς πράγματος οὗ ἐὰν αἰτήσωνται, γενήσεται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός μου, τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς."

Μόνον ὀφείλονται τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἑταιρείας μέλη κοσμικὰ καθ' ἡμέραν βραχείᾳ χρῆσθαι προσευχῇ, μετὰ τοῦ Πατὴρ ἡμέτερος ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς Ἑταιρείας σκοποῦ· Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἅπαξ ἥκιστα κατὰ τριμηνίαν τὴν ἁγίαν θυσίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ῥέξειν.

ΕΤΧΗ.

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὃς ἔλεξας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις σου "ἐγὼ εἰρήνην ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν," μὴ βλέπῃς πρὸς τά μου ἁμαρτήματα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας σου πίστιν, καὶ δὸς αὐτῇ τὴν εἰρήνην καί τὴν ἑνότητα αἵ ἂν σοι εὐάρεστα ὦσιν. Ὅτι σοῦ τὸ κράτος, κ.τ.λ.

APPENDIX II.

The following remarkable passage, from pp. 218-220 of Mr. Ffoulkes' masterly treatise on *Christendom's Divisions* seems most appropriately to harmonize with the opinion so deliberately expressed at p. 295. When both East and West, through recognised theologians, are unanimous in their opinions concerning Anglican shortcomings, it seems more than possible that East and West are right, and Anglicans are wrong:—

"There had been a quarrel between one King of England, Henry VIII., and one Pope, Clement VII., of a personal character, affecting at most the domestic happiness of the former; just as there must always be when individuals involve themselves in any civil or ecclesiastical suit, and it had proceeded to extremities on both sides. But never had the Pope threatened any encroachments, then, on the abstract rights of the Crown; still less had there been any attack on the liberties of the Church of England. There had been no new doctrine promulgated, nor any new discipline enjoined for acceptance by it. Because a monarch, so notoriously singular as Henry VIII.

in his matrimonial arrangements had been thwarted in them, the Church of England assented to abjure the supremacy of the Pope in that reign; to burn and destroy all its time-honoured rituals for celebrating Divine Service in the next; and then, after a few years of feigned repentance under Mary, reproduced, under Elizabeth, its new 'Service Book' and Articles of 'Religion:' not only without the smallest reference to the opinions of the rest of Christendom, but in open defiance of the General Council of the West, then actually sitting, and to which its bishops among others had, in conformity with ancient usage, received their summons —all which it justified on the ground that it had resolved, for the future, to be quit of the Pope.

"Now, even at this point, it might have halted, without any further outrage upon the constitutional prerogatives of every corporate society. It scorned the idea of any such moderation. Transubstantiation, which for more than three centuries it had held and taught, in conformity with the Fourth Lateran Council, it now condemned as 'repugnant to the plain words of Scripture.' (Art. xxviii.) Purgatory, which it had maintained with the Council of Florence against the Greek doctrine on the subject, it now discarded as 'a vain invention.' (Art. xxii.) Restriction of the cup to the celebrant priest, which it had received from the Council of Constance, it now asserted to be contrary to 'CHRIST'S ordinance.' (Art. xxx.) Celibacy of the clergy, which in common with the rest of the West had been its own discipline from time immemorial, it now declared it lawful to depart from, though no other Western Church had relaxed that rule. (Art. xxxii.) To teach that there were seven sacraments, as all previous Archbishops of York and Canterbury must have done more or less, it now regarded as a product of 'the corrupt following of the Apostles.' (Art. xxv.) To ask for the prayers of the Saints in Heaven, to venerate their relics and images on earth, as the Church of Rome did, it affirmed to be 'repugnant to the Word of GOD' (Art. xxii.); though its old office-books alone showed how identical had been its own

authorised practice from the Norman Conquest at latest. Finally, in consenting to abandon appeals of Rome, it repudiated not merely one of the first principles of its own Canon Law, but likewise one of the earliest synodical acts on record of its own primitive bishops, above 1,200 years previously, who sat and voted at that council which authorised them. All this it did without so much as asking counsel or inviting criticism from any one of the local churches in Europe—with all which it had for so long been united as one family—on the wisdom or justice of its proceedings. The only foreigners whom it condescended to consult at all were those who had unchurched themselves. In that one respect, that of taking a bold line of its own, it may have acted as England usually does: in all other respects how thoroughly un-English was the course pursued? The questions which it re-opened, and the points which it retracted had no reference to the decrees of any one council that had been held, or to any one dogma that had been put forward of late years. France was slow to accept the Council of Trent from the first, and has never accepted it wholly to this day. All the Trullan Canons, and even the three last canons of the Council of Chalcedon, were rejected by the Holy See, and have never since been received. The Greeks demurred to the addition of the words 'Filioque' to the Creed at once, and have never really given in. But here was a local church arrogating to set aside doctrines and practices of the collective church—which it had for ages accepted, inculcated, and enforced itself—on the ground principally that they were 'repugnant to the Word of GOD;' but only, therefore, as interpreted by its own living authorities of that one period. What must have been the unavoidable inference suggested to the minds of all intelligent thinkers? If for five, if for ten centuries, all the bishops and theologians of the collective church were proved to have known nothing of the true meaning of the Word of GOD, how many degrees below nothing might the living authorities of one local church of a single age be supposed to rank in their estimate of the same? Had such

of the English counties taken that view of their constitutional obligations in the sixteenth century, what would have been the condition of Old England now? Had each of the churches of Europe followed the example of the Church of England, what would have become of the unity of the Catholic Church by this time?"

Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam.

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